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Representing Nation in Postwar Japan: Cold War, Consumption and the Mass Media: 1952-1972

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in History

2014

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Abstract

This thesis argues that the development of ideas of nation in the 1950s and 1960s strongly tied questions of Japanese national identity to the changing international environment and to the everyday lives of the people. A growing commercially driven mass media helped broaden representations of nation beyond the overtly political and ideological concepts of the immediate postwar period. During the 1950s, the promotion of consumption became tied to the goal of national economic development. This conflicted with calls for rationalisation and thrift and at the same time brought out the contradictions of Japanese economic development under US hegemony. During the 1950s and 1960s, popular magazines, radio and television were put to use promoting consumption through advertising. The same goal was evident in the burgeoning mass circulation magazines, which grew with and in response to consumer society. Articles in these magazines addressed issues of national identity not simply through the advertising of consumer goods, and magazines aimed at young people such as *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* and graphic magazines such as the *Yomiuri Graph* and *Mainichi Graph* as well as magazines aimed at housewives all created ideals of what Japan represented and what it meant to be Japanese. Through discussion of political and social issues, ideas of nation were flagged in ways which tied those representations to consumption. These ideas of nation reflected the ambiguity and contradictions of the country's relationship with the United States and the changing nature of the Cold War. By examining the ways in which important political issues were presented in these magazines, this thesis argues that ideas of nation became deeply connected to consumer society and popular culture, making a separation between political and cultural ideas of nation much more difficult.

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Introduction

> Pleasure lies in wasting things, time, the body, money. I think waste is the best kind of accumulation. Me, I put as much effort in to waste as possible.
>
> Ishihara Shintaro, *Heibon Punch*, May 1965 [1]

This thesis argues that the concerns of the 1950s and 1960s, an era which embodied the deep connection between the Cold War, America and Japan's domestic political and economic development, strongly tied questions of national identity to the changing international environment and the domestic lives of the Japanese population, situating representations of ideas of nation within a rapidly expanding consumer society. The growing commercially driven mass media, particularly the mass circulation magazines, helped to broaden those representations beyond the overtly political and ideological nation of the immediate postwar and early Cold War years. Consumption as a national goal in the 1950s connected the Japanese state with intellectuals, and citizens' groups. These debates centred on the applicability to Japan of universal economic ideals, which had emerged out of, and in response to, the depression of the 1930s and the tragedy of war in the early 1940s. If consumption gradually emerged in prewar Japan as the promotion of middle-class lifestyles, during the period outlined in this thesis it became a defining feature of life for the majority of people. Scott O'Bryan has recently demonstrated the centrality of consumption to the debates of economists and policy makers of the 1950s and 60s.[2] Nevertheless, much of the emphasis in postwar accounts of Japan's consumer culture in the 1950s and 1960s remains on the rationalization of daily life and the need to urge women in the home and men in the workplace to work hard to create national power.

In 1959, the leader of the Housewives' Association Oku Mumeo proclaimed, 'We must thoroughly eliminate waste in daily life and cultivate many people who will curb the dissipation of national power.'[3] The active role of women's groups in

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[1] 'Shinkairakushugi no Seikatsu Kakumei-"Mainichi ga Taikutsu da" to iu Nijū dai e no Panchi aru Adobaisu', *Heibon Punch*, May 3rd, 1965, p. 24.
[2] Scott O'Bryan, *The Growth Idea: Purpose and Prosperity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).
[3] Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 186-187.

promoting the rationalization of home life means that discussion of the postwar growth in consumption is dominated by the gendered nature of that consumption and its connection to the transformation of the Japanese housewife. As Penelope Franks and Janet Hunter have recently pointed out, this has meant that 'the place of consumption…is limited to the "rational" use of "modern" goods, within the context of the particular ambivalence of Japanese people towards the desirability and appropriateness of consumption, at least until the latter part of the twentieth century.' On top of this, institutional accounts of Japan's postwar history see the story of the growth of production in terms of the need for foreign currency satisfied by a rapidly growing export market.[4]

Yet as Simon Partner notes, and Yoshimi Shunya demonstrated, with the beginnings of high-speed economic growth in the mid-1950s, corporations promoting the consumption of labour saving devices and the benefits of increased leisure time meant that calls for thrift and economy through rationalisation tended to be overshadowed by the brighter light of consumer culture. During the 1950s and 1960s, popular magazines, radio and television were put to use promoting that culture, in particular through advertising.[5] Yet this goal was also evident in the burgeoning mass circulation magazines, which grew with and in response to consumer society. Articles in these magazines spoke to issues of national identity not simply through the advertisement of consumer goods. Magazines aimed at young people such as *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*, graphic magazines such as the *Yomiuri Graph* and *Mainichi Graph* as well as magazines aimed at housewives, all created representations of what it meant to be Japan and to be Japanese. Through discussion of political and social issues, ideas of nation were flagged in ways which tied representations to consumption. In this period, ideas of nation reflected the ambiguity and contradictions of the country's relationship to the United States and the changing nature of the Cold War as much as state exhortations to thrift or the 'rational' use of consumer goods.

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[4] Janet Hunter and Penelope Franks, 'Introduction: Japan's Consumption History in Comparative Perspective', in *The Ambivalent Consumer: consumption and everyday life in Japan* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), p. 6.

[5] Simon Partner, 'Taming the Wilderness: The Lifestyle Improvement Movement in Rural Japan, 1925-1965', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Winter, 2001), p. 489-514; Yoshimi Shunya, "Made in Japan": The Cultural Politics of "Home Electrification" in postwar Japan', in Steffi Richter and Annette Schad-Seifert Eds. *Cultural Studies and Japan* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitatsverlag, 2001), pp. 103-117.

In February 1952, in an interview published in the housewife's magazine *Fujin no Tomo,* the governor of the Bank of Japan Ichimada Hisato pointed out the different and challenging circumstances Japan found itself in. 'Japan is a very different country from the one before the war. Just losing the war means we can no longer think of Japan as the Japan of old.' The Japan of 1952 had been reduced to 'just 4 small islands', and having lost Korea, Taiwan and Okinawa, the rapidly increasing Japanese population of 84,000,000 would 'have to restrict their lifestyles to this small country.' The natural resources of the Japanese colonies were gone. Understanding the important role of the economy in the future development of the country was central to helping the people come to terms with the new conditions.

According to Ichimada, Japan was a small, narrow country, economically inconvenient, and not blessed with natural resources beyond an abundance of water. Because of this, earning foreign currency would be central to Japan's future economic success. It would help to pay for the vital imports needed to continue trade, and also to improve the welfare of the people by providing capital for social and cultural projects. To this end, the essential task was 'to get people working' and to ensure they were employed usefully.[6] However, the Japanese people were poor at working efficiently. According to Ichimada, an eight hour working day was often equivalent to only two or three hours' work, citing an observation that in Japan when women carried documents around the office they often took their time, speaking to people on the way and taking the most circuitous route possible. This was something Ichimada had never seen in America where 'documents are taken to the target desk via the shortest distance, quickly, looking only straight ahead.' Furthermore, in the business districts of New York one did not 'see people walking aimlessly around!' For the head of the Bank of Japan, the end of the US Occupation provided an opportunity to rebuild Japan's economy and culture. Creating an independent country entailed putting peoples' time and energy to the most effective use, and this required a change in working culture.[7]

Former Finance Minister and chief San Francisco Peace Treaty negotiator Ikeda Hayato was of a similar opinion to Ichimada. He used a New Year interview in the popular daily newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* to explain to the people that after the end

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[6] 'Subete no Hito ga Kono Yō ni Kyōiku Sare, Sō Seikatsu Sureba, Kuni to Hito wa Kanarazu Tomu.' *Fujin no Tomo.* February, 1952, Vol 46, No 2, pp. 25-26.
[7] Ibid.

of the Occupation it would be important to work even harder than previously to achieve improvements in the nation's standard of living. Interviewed on the 3rd of January 1952, Ikeda stressed that the best way to deal with Japan's new economic and political situation was to get the people working together to cultivate an independent spirit. 'While everybody wants to know what will happen to the Japanese economy, or economic cooperation between Japan and the US, the tune doesn't come from the East, West, North or South but from within. Everybody dances in their own time, but life will get better if everyone pulls together.'[8] As the newspaper noted, life for the people of Japan had certainly improved since the end of the war and fashionable areas of Tokyo such as Ginza and Shinjuku were places where there was no shortage of luxury goods and fine restaurants.

The economy had returned to 80% of prewar levels, but much of the benefit of this was concentrated in rural areas. Away from places like Shinjuku and Ginza the cities in general were much worse off, and this was a problem for the professional classes struggling to get by on their wages, which were much lower than before the war. Industrial workers, salarymen, teachers, and intellectuals were subsisting on salaries roughly one third of pre-war levels.[9] As economist Tsuru Shigeto put it in *Fujin Kōron*, 'in reality we have chewing gum but no bananas, we have nylon stockings but no nappies.'[10] The *Asahi* urged the government to make the people aware of the real economic situation of the country and to build a new, more autonomous national lifestyle (*jiyū kokumin seikatsu*). Economists and politicians were, unsurprisingly, more concerned with continuing the re-building of the country as the Occupation came to an end.

Within the space of two decades, the Japanese economy became the second largest in the world, and by 1976 it accounted for around 10 per cent of the world's economic activity. In 1955, the Japanese economy stood at only 7 per cent of the American level, yet by 1973 it had reached one third of the American total. Japan's

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[8] 'Kotoshi no Kokumin Seikatsu o Kataru,' *Asahi Shimbun*, January 3rd 1952. Ikeda Hayato had been Finance Minister in 1950 under Yoshida Shigeru, and would become Prime Minister in 1960 advocating the 'income-doubling plan', which is seen as bringing on the era of high-speed growth in Japan. In 1952, he was responsible for making agreements with the US over military bases in Japan, and, while working in the Finance Ministry for about a month in late 1952, made a series of comments regarding the economic difficulties faced by small business and the poor. He was eventually forced to resign in December 1952.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Tsuru Shigeto, 'Watashitachi no Seikatsu Suijun.' *Fujin Kōron*, March 1952.

GNP in dollars had overtaken that of France and West Germany, as well as the UK by the early 1970s. The percentage of the workforce involved in farming fell from almost half in 1950 to 17 per cent by 1970, as large numbers of young people were attracted to the cities to work in the factories and expanding service industries. At the same time, the cities expanded outwards making metropolitan lifestyles the 'defining experience of "modern" postwar society.'[11] The challenges of rebuilding the Japanese economy and the political policies, economic plans, finance and business structures put in place to achieve rapid economic growth have been well documented. Both general and in-depth economic, political, managerial and intellectual histories of Japan since 1945 stress the prewar continuities and postwar context of political, economic and social reconstruction.[12] Yet it was not only a question of export growth and political stability.

In their respective interviews, Ikeda Hayato and Ichimada Hisato did not just ascribe Japan's future success to concrete policies and plans for achieving economic growth. Ikeda also invoked a communal spirit, tying the individual to the nation in a quest for reconstruction. Coming from a politician and wartime bureaucrat, this unsurprisingly echoed prewar and wartime calls for individual sacrifice in the name of national progress. As Oguma Eiji has noted, before Japanese politicians and intellectuals could start importing foreign rhetoric, 'the language of the war period had to be re-read and given new meaning.'[13] So, while many of the calls for the rebirth of the people and invocations of national culture were reminiscent of wartime ideology, they were also couched in the postwar terms of democracy and peace.[14] Ikeda's comments also hinted at the instability of both the domestic and international

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[11] Andrew Gordon, 'Society and Politics from Transwar through Postwar Japan', in Merle Goldman and Andrew Gordon Eds. *Historical Perspectives on East Asia* (Cambridge M.A, Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 273.

[12] See for example Nakamura Masanori, *Sengoshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005); Nakamura Takafusa, *The Postwar Japanese Economy: its development and structure 1937-1994* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995); Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: the growth of industrial policy 1925-1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); Laura Hein, *Fuelling Growth: The Energy Revolution and Economic Growth in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, 1990) and *Reasonable Men Powerful Words: political culture and expertise in twentieth century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Andrew Gordon, *The Wages of Affluence: labour and management in postwar Japan* (Cambridge M.A, Harvard University Press, 1998).

[13] Oguma, Eiji, *'Minshū' to 'Aikoku': Sengo no Nashonarizumu to Kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2002), p. 67.

[14] Carol Gluck, 'The Past in the Present', in Andrew Gordon Ed. *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991), p. 69.

situation facing the country in 1952. To achieve economic growth and stability, the important thing was for everyone to pull together, despite circumstances that were at best ambiguous, in the name of national reconstruction.

Ichimada had already raised the issue of workplace culture as one aspect of daily life that would need to be transformed. Both Ikeda and Ichimada made appeals to an imagined community via the burgeoning postwar media.[15] At the same time, they exposed the inescapable connections between the political, economic and cultural aspects of the daily lives of the Japanese people. It was at the level of everyday life that the postwar transformations became most evident, a place where the nation could be re-imagined over the period of high-speed economic growth within a rapidly expanding popular media. This national re-imagining began with the aim of bringing democratic freedoms to the Japanese people and linking the wartime rationalization movement to the goals of the US Occupation.[16] But as Carol Gluck has noted, if the Occupation put a great deal of emphasis on electoral politics and democratic freedoms, then eventually the 'pursuit of the good life through consumption overwhelmed town-meeting democracy in the evolving definition of the lifestyle modern.'[17] This shift reveals the importance of the international as well as national factors in shaping the debate and discussion over ideas of nation in Japan in the postwar period. Far from bringing stability and security by firmly linking the Japanese nation to the rise of an economically powerful and culturally influential Japan, the process of political, social and economic transformation throughout the 1950s and 1960s relied on the ambiguous and contested nature not only of ideas of nation generally, but also of the historical meaning and contemporary definition of that nation in Japan's specific context.

Consumption as a National Goal

Ichimada's comments in the housewives' magazine *Fujin no Tomo* came during an interview with Hani Motoko. Founded by Hani in the early twentieth century, *Fujin no Tomo* sought to 'transmit practical knowledge indispensable for the improvement

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[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).
[16] Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), pp. 180-190.
[17] Carol Gluck, 'The "End" of the Postwar: Japan at the Turn of the Millennium', *Public Culture* 10(1), 1993, p. 12.

of our daily lives, basic information useful to everyone.'[18] In the pre- and postwar periods, Hani was deeply involved in efforts to improve the daily lives of urban women, a project which united women's movements and state bureaucrats in a commitment to 'modernizing the mores of and habits of ordinary women.'[19] These movements to improve lifestyles reached out to the rural communities as well as the urban housewife, and took on an important role in wartime after the formation of the National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign in 1937 to fight against luxury, waste and the consumption of foreign goods.[20] This alliance between women's groups and the state continued after surrender as postwar women's groups worked with the bureaucracy on projects to improve daily life.

In the 1950s, Japanese corporations also took up ideas of lifestyle improvement as a means of delineating gender roles to achieve better productivity from their male employees. By the end of the decade, over fifty corporations had initiated programs with similar goals.[21] Patricia Maclachlan has emphasised the role of the housewives' associations in consumer advocacy and the ways in which, in the early postwar period, the issue of food rationing and survival brought these groups into cooperation and conflict with the state.[22] After the war, the process of lifestyle improvement began to redefine the citizen and the consumer and gradually blurred the boundaries between the two. It also connected the Japanese citizen to the global Cold War. As Matthew Hilton has demonstrated, the link between consumption and the state was not unique to Japan but was tied in with the geopolitics of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, state officials liaised with women's and housewives' organisations as politicians on both sides of the Iron Curtain promised their people a better life. Consumer society was promoted as the way

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[18] Chieko Irie Mulhern, 'Hani Motoko: the journalist educator', in Chieko Irie Mulhern Ed. *Heroic with Grace: legendary women of Japan* (Armonk: East Gate, 1991), p. 262. Writing of the 1980s Mulhern notes that the magazine 'has preserved its journalistic integrity…and remains a refreshing and reassuring, if somewhat didactic, source of practical wisdom in daily life' (p. 229) read by well-educated women of all ages with upper middle class status and family standing.
[19] See Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 132.
[20] Simon Partner, 'Taming the Wilderness: The Lifestyle Improvement Movement in Rural Japan, 1925-1965, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Winter, 2001), pp. 497-500.
[21] Andrew Gordon, 'Managing the Japanese Household: The New Life Movement in Postwar Japan', *Social Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1997. p. 247.
[22] Patricia L. Maclachlan, *Consumer Politics in Postwar Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

forward.[23] In Japan, as elsewhere, providing for necessities in the early postwar period gradually gave way to creating affluence for all.

Of course, postwar consumer society did not emerge from a historical vacuum. During the Taishō period, the expansion of Japan's economy, urbanisation, and the growth of the popular media created spaces and images of consumption for an emerging middle-class.[24] Barbara Sato has shown how images of the 'modern woman' in the media presented a graphic illustration of the rise of consumerism in the 1920s that also reflected the changing role and status of women.[25] Yet, in the prewar period, this consumer society was not open to all, and unlike the situation in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not necessarily connected by the state to ideas of nation. Louise Young notes how in 1920s Japan the department store presented the modern as reflected in the collection of consumer goods on offer inside. This substituted the daily practices of private life for earlier definitions of modernity associated with the public institutions of the nation-state such as railways, parliamentary democracy or a colonial empire.[26] In contrast to the flowering of consumption in the Taishō and early Shōwa period, from the mid-1950s the Japanese state, as with other states around the world, openly took on the role of promoting domestic consumption. The promise of a solid middle-class identity often noted in the 1920s finally fell within the grasp of the post-World War II housewife.[27] Yet consumer goods and their use not only came to define the private lives and social roles of the Japanese people, but also to shape the representation of ideas of nation in the mass media. In this context, ideas of nation in postwar Japan became difficult to separate from consumer culture.

Kristin Ross has examined the way the end of French colonial power led to the adoption of American lifestyles by French citizens during the period from the mid-

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[23] Matthew Hilton, 'Consumers and the State since the Second World War', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 6, No. 11 (May, 2007), p. 67.
[24] Andrew Gordon, 'Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class in Transwar Japan', *Social Science Japan Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2007, pp. 239-266; Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[25] Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), see pp. 45-47. Also see Miriam Silverberg, 'The Modern Girl as Militant', in Gail Lee Bernstein Ed. *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
[26] Louise Young, 'Marketing the Modern: Department Stores, Consumer Culture and the New Middle Class in Interwar Japan', *International Labor and Working Class History*, No. 55 Spring 1999, pp. 52-70.
[27] Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, p.163.

1950s to the mid-1960s. With the colonies gone, France had to import from alternative sources, most notably the US, leading to the Americanisation of French culture through imported goods, which brought with them imported cultural influences. The contradictions inherent in this displacement became evident in the nature of the goods consumed, which gradually came to give shape to everyday life.[28] A similar process occurred in Japan in the same time period, but as Yoshimi Shunya has argued, this occurred in Japan to a greater extent than in France, under the hegemonic presence of American cultural power. In postwar Japan, the subjectivity of the housewife was altered by the introduction of the American way of life to the Japanese people, and Japan's nationalistic image of technological excellence was born through the lens of a 'world's eye', in which 'the domestic, the national and the global' were 'complicatedly entangled with each other.'[29] This thesis will highlight those entanglements and the contradictions inherent in the way they shaped Japanese national identity in the postwar period by examining the way national and international issues were debated and discussed in the popular written media, which itself diversified and segmented in response to and in pursuit of heightened consumerism, clarifying Japan's position in relation to the Cold War.

For many scholars, Japan finally embraced consumerism with the consumption boom of the 1980s. Jordan Sand, discussing the New Breed (*Shinjinrui*) in the 1980s and 1990s, has concluded that their ambivalence developed from a paradox of sensibilities. 'Young Japanese of the 1980s longed for something outside Japan's managed consumer society, yet they were captive to its fashions'. They sought the vernacular spaces of the city as an antidote to the ubiquitous exhortations to consume, and in response to the commodification of all aspects of youth culture.[30] Although not so constantly bombarded by advertising or targeted by surveys and lifestyle guides as their counterparts in the 1980s and 1990s, the youth of the 1950s

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[28] Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: decolonization and the reordering of French culture* (Cambridge M.A: The MIT Press, 1996).

[29] Shunya Yoshimi, 'Made in Japan: The cultural politics of "home electrification" in postwar Japan', in Steffi Richter and Annette Schad-Seifert Eds. *Cultural Studies and Japan* (Leipzig: Leipzig Universitatsverlag, 2001), p. 117.

[30] Jordan Sand, 'The Ambivalence of the New Breed: nostalgic consumerism in 1980s and 1990s Japan', in Garon, Sheldon M. and Maclachlan, Patricia L Eds. *The Ambivalent Consumer: questioning consumption in East Asia and the West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 85-108.

and 1960s were no less plagued by ambivalence and ambiguity.[31] So whilst the New Breed sought out Tokyo's vernacular spaces while yearning for a nostalgic rural landscape, the young people of the 1950s and early 1960s looked to the city's future instead. Meanwhile, photo spreads and discussions in magazines such as *Mainichi Graph* and *Asahi Graph,* and magazines such as *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* (whose 1950s and 1960s readership consisted of young Japanese from all parts of the country) clearly demonstrated that the late 1950s and early 1960s were witnessing the growth of an increasingly self-conscious consumer culture.

In their account of women and the media in Japan, Lise Skov and Brian Moeran see a crucial rupture in the early 1970s, a paradigm shift resulting from the 'diverse changes' of the 1960s, student riots, demonstrations against environmental pollution and the Osaka Expo in 1970, which 'together with the oil crisis in 1973, led to the restructuring of the Japanese economy.'[32] For this reason they chart the development of consumerism and popular women's magazines from the 1970s onwards. This adds to the impression in much of the literature that the 1950s and 1960s are better seen as a transition period as far as the connection between consumer society and the mass media is concerned. As Sakamoto Hiroshi has noted, the 1950s most often appears as a polarised period of Molotov cocktails or *Heibon*.[33] Skov and Moeran see the main trend of the 1970s as 'marked by a rediscovery of tradition'. As Marilyn Ivy has argued, advertising turned this concept into a pervasive national mass phenomenon. In this context the past, typified by the popularity of academic works by medieval historian Amino Yoshihiko, or the countryside, through the successful 'Discover Japan' campaign, can be seen as a play on tradition by the Japanese media accompanied by the revitalisation among thinking elites of *nihonjinron* (theories of

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[31] Perhaps they were fortunate that the development of the Hakuhōdō Institute of Life and Living did not arrive till the early 1980s. See www.hakuhodo.jp/seikatsusha/hill/ last accessed 13th January 2014. It may be of course that the establishment of an institution to promote the 'philosophy of lifestyles' has produced the historical bias in the study of consumption in Japan. See John L McCreery, *Japanese Consumer Behaviour: From Worker Bees to Wary Shoppers* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), for an analysis of the research carried out by the institute.

[32] Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, 'Introduction: Hiding in the Light: from Oshin to Yoshimoto Banana', in Skov and Moeran Eds. *Women and Media Consumption in Japan* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1995), p. 10

[33] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *[Heibon] no Jidai: 1950 nendai no Taishū Goraku Zasshi to Wakamonotachi* (Tokyo: Shōwadō, 2009), pp. 22-26.

Japaneseness) throughout the 70s. [34] For Skov and Moeran, the *nihonjinron* discourse can be explained as the work of 'tradition-mongering neo-conservatives bent on re-establishing the norms of earlier industrial capitalism: discipline, authority, the work ethic and the traditional family.'[35] Yet to better understand the popular appeal of a vast array of literature subsumed under the heading *Nihonjinron* in the 1970s, we need to understand the way popular representations of nation in the expanding mass media of the 1950s and 1960s framed the political issues of the Cold War. Both democracy and consumption were in the process of becoming 'Japanese' as the transwar period gave way to the postwar and new defining social, political and economic patterns emerged.

These conditions were not necessarily unique to Japan, yet they offered a means of integrating cultural ideas of nation into an apparently de-politicised popular culture. Ideas of national uniqueness could continue to inform ideas of nation even as Japan immersed itself economically and politically in a universal vision of modernity closely tied to American hegemony. Connecting the emergence of a dominant discourse on consumption and its relation to everyday life with the gradual de-politicisation of ideas of nation complicates our understanding of the nature of nationalism and national identity. Of course state-led economic development dominated plans and policies for economic and social recovery from the trauma of the war. The transformation of the cities and the depopulation of the countryside brought about social problems such as housing, pollution and congestion that would have to be dealt with at the level of the state. In the same way, the question of the availability and quality of food in the early 1950s required state policies to improve supply and bring about the end of the rationing system, as will be discussed in chapter two. Nevertheless, precisely because ideas of nation based on rationalisation appealed to everyday life, everyday life became more and more tied to consumption and as the money spent on essentials declined, national identity itself became commodified through the popular media.

This was in no way unique to Japan but, as this thesis shows, the rapid growth of the postwar consumer economy opened up many more ways in which to express, discuss, and relate ideas of nation because of this nexus of nation, state, consumption

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[34] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourse of the Vanishing: modernity, phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 34-54.
[35] Skov and Moeran, 'Introduction', p. 11.

and everyday life. This de-politicisation of national consciousness was a consequence of government policy, although the process was not controlled by the state. The role of the state and intellectuals in defining the parameters of everyday life in postwar Japan gave way to market forces, consumption and an emerging popular culture, a process that resulted in ambiguity and cynicism more often than consensus and homogeneity. Nevertheless, the contradictions in ideas of nation in postwar Japan have often been elided in favour of overly cultural, ethnic accounts of the development of national identity with an emphasis on economic, state-led, and top down notions of nation.

All Things to all People.

Kevin Doak has recently refuted fears over the apparently statist nature of the nationalism espoused by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. 'The first and most important thing to understand about Japanese nationalism is that there are two words for nationalism in the Japanese lexicon (and *kokkashugi* [statism] is not one of them): *minzokushugi* and *kokuminshugi*. When a person speaking or thinking in Japanese makes reference to "nationalism," he must choose which of these two terms to employ. And that choice makes a difference.'[36] For Doak, the two forms of nationalism, *minzokushugi* and *kokuminshugi*, have their own political and cultural history in modern Japan. Choosing one word over the other is to select 'explicitly or implicitly, a particular understanding of what nationalism is.'[37] Doak notes that Marxists and 'the left' remain quite strongly attached to nationalism. In his view, the left is wedded to a nationalism of 'the ethnic variety, whereas more conservative intellectuals and media outlets (e.g. Yomiuri newspaper) are more inclined toward civic nationalism.' Simply put, 'the former (*minzokushugi*) is best understood as "ethnic nationalism" and the latter (*kokuminshugi*) as "civic nationalism"'.[38] Doak acknowledges, without examining, the explicitly ideological nature of the division of the two terms. He notes that 'ethnic nationalism has been positioned as "Asian

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[36] See Kevin M. Doak,'Japan Chair Platform: Shinzo Abe's Civic Nationalism', Center for Strategic and International Studies, 15 May 2013, http://csis.org/publication/japan-chair-platform-shinzo-abes-civic-nationalism

[37] See Kevin M. Doak, *Placing the People: A history of nationalism in modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill. 2007) for the outline of the development of these terms. The quote is taken from page 2. In the book Doak also covers state, society and emperor to analyse the history of nationalism.

[38] Doak, 'Japan Chair Platform'.

nationalism" at least since the 1955 Bandung Conference; in contrast, civic nationalism has from its very beginning in modern Japan and throughout East Asia been seen as the favourite of pro-Western governments, Christian minorities and intellectuals thought to be tainted by Western ways of thinking.'[39] The civic versus ethnic divide in studies of nationalism is, in Doak's opinion, an East/West split, and at the same time a fundamental aspect of any explanation of Japanese nationalism.

In response, Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out that the separation into good=civic (*kokumin*) and bad=ethnic (*minzoku*) 'has been very effectively criticised by many scholars who argue that the notions of race, culture, tradition and citizenship bound up in nationalism are far too complex to be isolated and captured in this easy formula.'[40] As Bernard Yack has argued, separating the political from the cultural in defining the nation is practically impossible.[41] Moreover, as chapter one of this thesis demonstrates, in the 1950s the terms *kokumin* and *minzoku* were often conflated. *Minzoku* nationalism (*minzokushugi*) itself was not considered a negative expression of nation. The good=civic and bad=ethnic distinction within theories of nationalism has to be viewed as a product of the postwar debate on the rejection of totalitarianism and exclusionist myths of national destiny. The debate brought Japanese ideas of nation into the emerging modernisation discourse, which sought universal values and individual subjectivity within the Cold War battle for ideological allegiance. The notion that ideas of nation and expressions of nationalism can be either 'civic' or 'ethnic' with a clear understanding of the separation and differing genealogies of what those terms represent, has informed most of the debate over nation and nationalism, not only in Japan, but also in more general theoretical terms. Yet the problem lies in the origins of the theoretical separation of the two terms as distinct ideas of nation. This division, first presented theoretically by Hans Kohn in the 1940s, was a useful way of separating state from nation, but more importantly of finding a place for a liberal tolerance within the particularistic cultural nature of various extreme nationalisms, which had emerged in the 1930s. The idea of nation could exist outside

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, 'The Re-branding of Abe Nationalism: global perspectives on Japan', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Volume 11, Issue 28, No. 1, July 15th 2013.
[41] Bernard Yack, 'The Myth of the Civic Nation', *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society*, Vol. 10 Issue 2, 1997, Special Issue: Nationalism. Also see 'Popular Sovereignty and Nationalism', *Political Theory*, Vol 29, No 4 (Aug 2001).

the state in its ethnic and cultural embodiment.[42] At the same time, it could find its place in a liberal democracy by linking the individual as a member of the nation to the institutions and ideals of the democratic system. Sharing such ideals would take the place of, or at the very least temper, the organic relations of blood, language, and culture, which had by the end of the Second World War (at the time of Kohn's writing) amply demonstrated the negative, exclusivist potential of ethnic and cultural nationalism.

Given the historical context of the mid-late 1940s, Kohn's dichotomy between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism soon took on pejorative connotations. The connection of liberal democratic ideas to the concept of a 'civic nation' contrasted with the more 'backward' concepts of cultural nationalism, which were exclusivist in their promotion of blood and language. In the early Cold War era, the idea of the nation as a voluntary grouping of people, who as individuals are governed by the same laws through common consent, came to be seen as a western model of nationalism, tied to the values of the enlightenment, and inherently good. The popularity of modernisation theory after 1945 helped to deepen this pejorative distinction. As Anthony Smith has put it, 'Historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology; these are the components of the standard, Western model of the nation.' In the ethnic conception of nation, on the other hand, 'the place of law in the Western civic model is taken by vernacular culture, usually languages and customs.'[43] Such a conception is seen as leading to cultural exclusivism and discrimination.

The idea of a 'good' modernity drove much debate about Japan after its defeat in 1945. In the postwar period, much of the debate over the development of Japanese nationalism became tied up with a constant striving towards a good nationalism in the form of the ideal of a 'civic nation'. In his study of the history of nationalism in modern Japan, Kevin Doak makes a plea for the development of such nationalism,

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[42] Curtis Anderson Gayle has outlined the way the idea of an ethnic nation could separate the Japanese nation from the state by examining the Marxist discourse of the immediate postwar period. See Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Marxist History and Postwar Japanese Nationalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002). Kuzio Taras has examined the distinction in relation to Kohn's work in 'The Myth of the Civic State: A critical Survey of Hans Kohn's Framework for Understanding Nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 25. No. 1 January 2002.

[43] Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London, Penguin, 1991) pp. 19-20.

now apparently found in the administration of Shinzo Abe.[44] For postwar liberal intellectuals, the 'civic nation' had been continually denied in Japan through the actions of the autocratic state. With popular sovereignty inscribed in the postwar constitution under the term *kokumin,* and Marxist intellectuals framing the debate in terms of *minzoku*, both sides sought to distance the nation from the state. In postwar Japan, many such intellectuals picked up the prewar and Meiji era debates in an attempt to escape from the 'dark valley' of the immediate past and explain their own actions in the war years through the lens of an oppressive state which had left them little choice but to support the emperor system.[45] They found 'Japan' in opposition to the state, much as young writers of the 1880s had emerged in search of the essence of 'Japaneseness' to counter the excessive westernisation of the Meiji government.[46]

The issue neatly set out in Doak and Morris-Suzuki's articles gets to the essential nature of nationalism. Despite Doak's insistence on the need for terminological precision when discussing Japanese nationalism, it is precisely the ambiguous nature of nationalism and national identity and the terms used which gives them their appeal. For a state seeking to motivate and control a given population, nationalism offers a means of connecting ideological goals to wider cultural traits. Through this link to culture, it also connects the political to the everyday life of the people. In this way, in the context of the period of high-speed economic growth beginning in the mid-1950s, Laura Hein's account of the shift in postwar Japanese nationalism from 'developmentalist nationalism' to 'cultural nationalism' merely shifts the problem from the analytical to the temporal. As such it becomes another expression of modernisation theory.[47] Where Doak asserts the civic/good, ethnic/bad dichotomy, Hein's account sees the shift from political to cultural nationalism in relation to the political economy.

Emerging alongside modernization theory, 'developmentalist nationalism' for the most part rejected cultural uniqueness because exceptionalism was associated with wartime disaster. The difficulty facing the Japanese in light of the 1945 defeat was in

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[44] Kevin Doak makes a plea for just such a development in his recent book, *Placing the People*.
[45] Victor Koschmann, 'The Debate on Subjectivity in post-war Japan: Foundations of Modernism as a Political Critique', *Pacific Affairs Vol 4, No 54, (winter 1981-1982)*. This will be touched on in chapter 1.
[46] See Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1969), for details of the movement to find a 'Japanese essence' in the 1880s.
[47] Laura Hein, 'The Cultural Career of the Japanese Economy: developmental and cultural nationalisms in historical perspective', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29 No. 3, 2008.

casting back for ideas of nation which could unite the people as the country was rebuilt. The usual symbols of national identity — the flag and the national anthem, for example — were tainted by association with wartime, and while the experience of Occupation brought social, political and economic reforms, it left many issues vague and unresolved. Developmental nationalism was a transnational project. The Cold War political goal of creating a role model for Free Asia linked the universal and the particular, and worked as an explanation for the structural problems of the Japanese economy and the pressures of pursuing economic growth.

For this reason, Hein has argued that cultural nationalism remained muted during the period of structural transformation in the 1950s. In her view, *nihonjinron* discourse became more predominant in the 1970s as Japan gained status as an economic power.[48] Yet Hein also claims that this turn towards cultural nationalism in Japan happened, unlike in other places, '*before* the onset of any crisis in Japan's developmental strategy and *before* neoliberal economic policies were adopted.'[49] As Radhika Desai concludes, 'in Japan developmental nationalism, nation and the national economy were treated as identical…the discourse of Japanese uniqueness returned, brazenly reinstating pre-surrender themes as well as overturning developmentalist critiques.'[50] The emerging focus during the 1950s on consumerism as a driving force for the development of the economy and the connection of economic growth to the transformation of everyday life provides the key to understanding the shift from developmental nationalism to cultural nationalism. In this way *Nihonjinron* can more easily be seen as an extension of the interconnection of ideas of nation with a broader, international focus on consumption and culture as the ultimate symbols of national identity.

As Brian McVeigh has noted, 'Effective nationalism is like religion: it must offer something shared yet transcendent, abstract yet visible, mundane yet profound,

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[48] Ibid, pp. 455-456. Harumi Befu uses the phrase 'transnational project' in, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001).
[49] Laura Hein, 'The Cultural Career of the Japanese Economy', italics in the original.
[50] Radhika Desai, 'Introduction: nationalisms and their understandings in historical perspective', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 2008, p. 397, pp. 397-428; 'Conclusion: from developmental to cultural nationalisms', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3, p. 649, p. 665, pp. 647-670.

reasonable-sounding yet inexpressible, and demonstrable yet not provable.'[51] In postwar (or postimperial Japan as McVeigh puts it) 'Japan's version of economic progressivism has been inextricably bound up with the "capitalist developmental state" and the bureaucratic elite's view that economics is fundamentally a moralistic endeavour concerned with renovating the nation.'[52] In this context, McVeigh has examined the ways in which various institutions present different versions of nationalism that serve to make ideas of nation ambiguous. Moreover, Michael Billig has shown how the nation insinuates itself into daily practices and habits. In this sense the nation is mundane, 'banal' in Billig's famous assertion. The flag not waved is as important as the flag waved or saluted. In this context, the national flag hanging on a public building 'or decorating a filling station forecourt' illustrates what Billig terms a 'forgotten reminding'. 'Thousands upon thousands of such flags each day hang limply in public places. These reminders of nationhood hardly register in the flow of daily attention, as citizens rush past on their daily business.'[53] Billig's point is important but needs to be expanded beyond state symbols and institutions usually understood to dictate representations of nation.

National identity is about how individuals make sense of their everyday experience. The present is a lived experience while the past is constantly relied on to provide meaning and stability. The nation provides a spatial and temporal context for the everyday. Here I follow Tim Edensor in seeing the multiple, changing and contesting meanings of popular cultural forms and practices as they contrast with a national identity that is commonly presented as looking toward the common past.[54] In the case of Japan in the 1950s and 1960s, the nature of the common past was of course highly contested, and the developmental ideas of nation outlined by Hein looked more towards a common future. Nevertheless, it is useful to look to popular representations of nation in order to understand how the cultural ingredients of nation are mediated, contested and subject to change. In the period covered by this thesis the mediation of ideas of nation was tied up with the politics of development, the Cold War and everyday life. Tessa Morris-Suzuki suggests that, 'identity is not a thing

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[51] Brain J. McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan: managing and mystifying identity* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), p. 35.
[52] Ibid, p. 16.
[53] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 38, pp. 39-43.
[54]Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Berg, 2002), p. 17.

which individuals carry with them through life, like a scar on the soul. Instead, it is something that we make in the present moment out of an interweaving of our cultural resources, as we talk to others, listen, write, or read…'[55] This reworking in the present of both culture and individual identity is a central part of the process of identification with ideas of nation. The nature of the popular media means that it provides the ideal source through which to examine this process.

Method, Materials and Chapters

Barbara Sato has pointed out that in relation to urban young women in the Taishō period, the development of journalism and the mass media in the years after World War 1 was interrelated with the changing context of urban women's social roles. 'The development of a communications industry in the form of newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, and records coupled with the increasing numbers of readers, viewers, and listening audiences became a major component of this expanding consumerism.'[56] In the postwar period consumption and the mass media expanded at a much greater rate and to a much greater extent than in the period covered by Sato's work. Sarah Frederick has noted that the act of creating 'a community of readers' in the housewife magazines of the Interwar period was also designed to create a national imaginary for their readers.[57] As Benedict Anderson has argued, the nation is an imagined community, and postwar debates and discussion within popular mass circulation magazines in Japan helped to provide a sense of shared belonging, or at the very least a means of framing such belonging.

In the postwar period, ideas of nation were not only encouraged and spread by imposing narratives that secured the interests of particular individuals or groups onto society, but were also subtly woven into discussions that sought to effectively represent the experience of urban life in relation to the nation. Precisely because of Japan's position in the Cold War, representations of what it meant to be Japanese gained relevance and meaning only through the conditions set both by the historical moment and by the restraints imposed upon it by the international situation. In the growing mass media of the 1950s and 1960s these representations brought out the

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[55]Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), p. 208.
[56] Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, p. 8.
[57] Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), pp. 99-101.

contradictions of the national and international. Appeals to the nation are usually an attempt to provide certainty and anchor the present to the past and the future. The desire was to convince newspaper, magazine and journal readers that the discursive Japan and the objective Japan were or at least could be one and the same, and this thesis shows how that desire was complicated by the ambiguity of the Cold War and the equally ambiguous nature of the terms of the debate.[58]

The changing nature of the mass media in Japan during the 1950s influenced the representation of ideas of nation. According to Sato Takumi, by the mid-1950s *kokumin zasshi* such as *King*, which had helped to overcome class, generation and gender to unite the nation during the prewar and wartime eras, had had their day. Having worked for thirty-three years to 'hold back the tendency towards segmentation' the advent of television in 1950s began to supplant the role of the magazine as a beacon of national culture (*kokumin bunka*). As Takumi opines, 'the "national culture" nurtured by *King* was restructured by the cathode ray tube'.[59] Indeed as Jayson Makoto-Chun has noted: 'Television, alongside institutions such as schools, the workplace, the family, and other mass media, became one of the important carriers of a mainstream common culture in postwar Japan…it played a key role in propagating values and imposing a degree of order and standardization.'[60] The rapid growth in the popularity of television was in many ways driven by the need to rebuild a sense of nation as well as to combat the evils of communism.[61] The 'disneyfication' of the imperial family in the coverage of the wedding of the crown Prince Akihito to Michiko Shoda in April 1959 and the self-congratulatory nature of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 helped to represent standardized narratives of postwar reconstruction. Yet the so-called 'Michi-boom', which followed the announcement of Akihito's engagement, tells us as much about the role of consumption in the formation of postwar ideas of nation as about attitudes towards the imperial family.

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[58] This connection is taken from Marilyn Ivy's comment that 'Japan has been made objective through discourse. Japan is as much a discursive construct as objective referent'. See Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing*, p. 1.
[59] Sato Takumi, 'King no Jidai: rajioteki, tokiteki kokumin zashii no dōin taisei', in Aoki et al. *Taishū Bunka to Masu Media* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), p. 230.
[60] Jayson Makoto-Chun, *A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots? A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1973* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 35.
[61] See ibid pp. 71-104. For a discussion of the way Cold War ideology was imposed on the technology see Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999), pp. 71-106, and Arima Tetsuo, *Nihon Terebi to CIA: Hakkutsu sareta 'Shōriki Fairu'* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2006).

The market for weekly magazines increased rapidly during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Tracing the development of publishing in the 1950s and 1960s, the number of new publications which appeared is striking. Between 1954 and 1971, the total number of published magazines doubled, and the number of weekly magazines almost tripled. The number of magazines aimed at women doubled, as did 'general interest' magazines.[62] In the late 1950s, as economic growth began to accelerate, there was a boom in magazine publishing in Japan. Magazines became larger and more stylish as weekly magazines came to take up a larger share of the market. By 1958 around 8 million copies were being produced each week, amounting to around 35 million copies per month. In all, by 1960 598 million copies of weeklies and 481 million copies of monthly magazines were being produced. Growing economic prosperity supported this rapid increase, and the appeal of these magazines to the public lay in their ability to move hand in hand with the 'fast changing contemporary society'.[63]

Of course, the role of the media in a modern information society is complex. In her discussion of youth and media, Ishida Saeko points to the prominent role given to media in the formation of identity. Extending the discussion beyond the problematic wedding of 'discourse on youth' to 'discourse on media', Ishida points out that 'today large numbers of people live within a lifestyle environment composed by the media'. Moreover, for those who live in the cities, the 'lifestyle environment constructed by the media covers every area of daily life.'[64] In that context, this thesis examines housewife magazines such as *Fujin Kōron*, *Fujin no Tomo*, *Fujin Gahō* as well as news magazines such as *Mainichi Graph* and *Asahi Graph.* These publications help to reflect the emphasis on everyday life in the media and, along with major daily newspapers the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, help to frame the

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[62] These figures taken from *Shuppan Nenkan* can be found at www.stat.go.jp last accessed January 2013. Over the same period the number of magazines issued monthly barely changed. The increase in weekly magazines is an indication of the consumer-oriented nature of many of these new magazines. With fashion and trends changing rapidly, magazines needed to respond rapidly to the latest fads to survive in the market, and of course weekly magazines had the potential to pull in more advertising revenue. Sato Takumi notes this speeding up of media culture as one of the reasons for the end of *King*. See Sato, King no Jidai.

[63] Natsuko Furuya, 'Postwar Publishing Trends in Japan', *The Library Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul, 1962).

[64] Ishida Saeko, 'Seinen to Gendai Media', in Ariyama Teruo and Tsuganesawa Toshihiro, *Gendai Media wo Manabu Hito no Tame ni* (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 1995), p. 56.

representation of ideas of nation in relation to international political and economic developments.

The boundaries drawn by these more serious magazines are juxtaposed to the growth of consumer society through *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*. As the most popular magazines were specifically aimed at the younger generation, the articles help to emphasise the changing nature of national identity in the context of the huge social, political and economic changes of the 1950s and 1960s. By juxtaposing media with ostensibly different target audiences I hope to achieve two things: firstly to show that the relationship of ideas of nation to everyday life can best be understood by taking into account the changing nature of consumption and the consumer in the period of the thesis, and secondly to draw out the contradictions raised by the relationship between the international situation and the historical constraints imposed upon representations of nation in postwar Japan and how these contradictions were connected to the growth of consumer society.

The magazine *Heibon* was published from December 1945 until its closure in 1985. The forty years of the magazine's existence saw vast economic and social changes in Japan. During the 1950s it was the most widely read entertainment magazine among young people.[65] From 1948 onwards, its publishers decided to focus the magazine on movies and music. As the founder of the magazine put it 'that's it, there is nothing more entertaining for the masses!'[66] The layout of the magazine was changed from A5 to B5 to allow the printing of larger pictures of popular actresses. Sakamoto Hiroshi estimates that, throughout the 1950s, 70% of both genders aged from the late teens to the twenties read *Heibon*. Its readership was spread evenly across large cities and the rural areas, and 'the magazine was read nationwide by both male and female workers.'[67] *Shūkan Heibon* was published from 1958 onwards and *Heibon Punch* from the spring of 1964, and the shifting appeal of the magazine reflected the domestic changes taking place in Japan.

High-speed economic growth reflected and entailed changes to production systems, the structure of employment, an increase in the urban population, the number of nuclear families, and the rise of a middle-class consciousness. The growth of mass society (*taishū shakai*) as a result of the decreasing gap between white collar and

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[65] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *[Heibon] no Jidai*, p. 2.
[66] Ueda Yasuo, *Sengo Janarizumu no Kōbō Zasshi wa Miteita* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2009), p. 87.
[67] Sakamoto, *[Heibon] no Jidai*, p. 4.

blue-collar workers led to the weekly magazine being read by university students as well as young working people, who had read the magazine from its outset. University students would initially be embarrassed to be seen reading it, yet, this situation changed over the course of the 1960s and provides the key to understanding the commercialisation of national identity.[68] The changes brought a certain ambiguity to the cultural lives of young people with huge population movements and increasing rates of university education.[69] This ambiguity was reflected in ideas of nation as they were represented in the magazines.

Shūkan Heibon began as an entertainment magazine in 1959, aimed at male and female readers. Alongside interviews with celebrities and other icons of popular culture, the magazine dealt with political issues and carried articles discussing the international problems caused by the Cold War. Most issues carried a roundtable discussion featuring two readers and an academic or journalist, who discussed important political and social issues. There were also short explanations about particular topics related to contemporary events. Aimed at male high school and university students, *Heibon Punch* began in May 1964 seeking to bring articles filled with 'speed, thrills and sex' to these young men, and at the same time take the 'dull daily lives and culture of male high school and university students and inspire them with a new, money-driven lifestyle'.[70] The magazine was more satirical than *Shūkan Heibon* in the way it approached serious topics. Nevertheless, its tongue-in-cheek attitude reflected important aspects of ideas of nation and nationalism, and when examined alongside the opinions of intellectuals, journalists, and commentators writing in the daily newspapers and housewives' magazines over the time period covered by this thesis, the sources chosen help to highlight the way in which national consciousness became deeply intertwined with the development of a consumer society.

In choosing the themes for each chapter, rather than taking a quantitative approach compiling statistics and looking for trends I have tried to tease out the hidden assumptions behind certain stories and issues as they appeared in the magazines and newspapers. It is not always clear when representations of ideas of nation are being put forward in the media, and for this reason the wider historical

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[68] Ibid, p. 15.
[69] Ibid, p. 13.
[70] Shiine Yamato, *Heibon Punch no Mishima Yukio* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2007), p. 8.

context is important. For this kind of research qualitative analysis is more flexible than quantitative approaches. Statistically examining the number of articles referring to ideas of nation in the 1950s and 1960s would, from the outset, impose restrictions on the type of article used and require a definition of the concept of nation, something that as the first chapter of this thesis demonstrates, was in any case constantly being contested. By juxtaposing the different types of magazines and newspapers I am able to bring out a level of comparative complexity that remains true to the actual complexity and contradictory nature of media artifacts. The media is ambiguous, open to interpretation and added to and expanded on by other media representations within a system of production, circulation and, importantly for this thesis, consumption. After all, 'the really significant item may not be the one which continually recurs, but the one which stands out as an exception from the general pattern — but which is also given, in its exceptional context, the greatest weight'. [71]

The first chapter outlines the way in which intellectual debate and discussion regarding the nature of nation and nationalism in postwar Japan underlined the difficulty of definition. The terms of the debate were not only difficult to define in any concrete way but they were also explicitly linked to the Cold War and Japan's role in it. This chapter demonstrates the centrality of the international in setting the boundaries for representations of ideas of nation in the media. Following on from this, the second chapter examines the debate and discussion on food and nutrition as the Occupation came to an end. By looking at the housewives' magazines and the major newspapers, this chapter seeks to understand how the contradictions of Japan's position in the postwar global order brought out the contingent nature of ideas of national culture and national identity. Through the tropes of diet and nutrition, the meaning and importance of food as a marker of national identity was brought into question, and the connection of ideas of nation to consumption in everyday life was simultaneously exposed as both political and cultural. Through this connection to everyday life the media represented ideas of nation as being flexible and contingent on the developing Cold War.

Chapter three goes on to look at the coverage of the mass protests against the renewal of the US Japan Security Treaty in 1960, examining how the media

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[71] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 303. Gitlin is quoting Stuart Hall, p.305.

discussion was framed by an emphasis on the growth of consumer society. This helped to depoliticize the nature of the US-Japan relationship and direct the wrath of the people towards the state rather than America. By the time of the protests, the image of America in the popular media had been softened through its connection to everyday life and the consumer goods being touted in the magazines and newspapers. The apparent thaw in the Cold War made the need for the treaty ambiguous, and by making clear Japan's subordinate relationship to the United States, it demonstrated the need for a Japanese consumerism that a younger generation could identify with. Chapter four then looks at the Tokyo Olympics as a consumer event deeply embedded in the politics of the Cold War. As the world turned to watch Tokyo, the transformation of the city as it was represented in the popular media offered a new way for young Japanese to relate to ideas of nation. At the same time, the emphasis on national culture saw the emergence of critiques of consumer culture, which sought to shape Japanese national identity in relation to the perceived waste inherent in American culture. Increased domestic production and the increasing importation of foreign made goods also allowed comparisons to be drawn which helped to further emphasize cultural ideas of nation.

The final two chapters take in the increasingly contradictory nature of Japan's postwar development. As consumer society continued to spread, student protesters began to violently question the relationship between Japan and the United States as well as the increasingly consumption-oriented everyday lives of the Japanese people. Within the popular media the contradictions between the increasingly structured and organized nature of social life was juxtaposed against the apparent freedom of consumer society. In this context, postwar ideals of peace and democracy were violently brought into question in the media, yet a detached apathy was apparent in the search for new ways of representing ideas of nation. The final chapter looks at the way the escalation of the Vietnam War brought these contradictions to a head and brought into question the US-Japan relationship in the popular media. Yet the media debate and discussion provoked a deeper questioning of the nature of postwar Japan and the meaning of nation and national identity as the Cold War came to an end in Asia.

Finally, an examination of debate and discussion of the meaning of national symbols — the *Hinomaru* flag and the anthem *Kimigayo* — concludes that by the late 1960s media representation of Japan had come to be defined by consumption. Student

and anti-war protests exposed the serious nature of the issues facing the county and the popular media juxtaposed this against the ephemeral and detached nature of popular consumer culture. The magazines of the 1960s created successive representations of Japan, which created an abstract concept. The representation of nation in the 1950s and 1960s took place within the growth of popular mass circulation magazines, and was both constrained by yet created through this connection of consumer culture with national development.

Chapter 1

Defining the Nation

'From now on there will be huge differences in the historical role nationalism is to perform. At times it will provide great energy for freedom and development, at other times it will be a fortress for reaction and conservatism.'

Gushima Kanesaburō.[72]

In order to trace the changing nature of ideas of nation during a period of economic growth and rapid social change, it is important to note the ambiguity inherent in the terms used to discuss nation and nationalism in postwar Japan. Throughout most of 1957, in a section devoted to the liberal arts, the *Asahi* newspaper carried a series of weekly articles devoted to ambiguity. Entitled 'Ambiguous Words' (*aimai kotoba*), the column set out each week to define the meaning of an array of different concepts in the humanities and social sciences. The articles made clear the domestic and international concerns of the 1950s, and the column dealt with words such as feudal, progressive, modern, authority, postwar, neutrality, humanism, political power, culture, freedom and subjectivity.[73] But the July 5th article examined the word nationalism (*nashonarizumu*).

Written in katakana, the headline itself provided an indication of the linguistic difficulties ideas of nation could pose for Japanese intellectuals, journalists, commentators, politicians, and the newspaper's readers. The article explained that the word *nashonarizumu* could be used to identify 'wartime national purity (*Kokusuishugi)*' or 'today's Asian and African national (*minzoku*) liberation movements.' It was its combination of 'good things, bad things and old things, as well as new things all mixed up together' that made the word ambiguous. 'The difficulty of defining the concept of "nationalism"' made it 'a messy and ambiguous word, with a wide range of meanings.' As the sub-heading put it: 'its character depends upon the

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[72] Gushima Kanesaburō, 'Nashonarizumu no Shiteki Tenbō', in Takehara Yoshifumi Ed. *Nashonarizumu no Seijigakuteki Kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1967), p. 15.
[73] This ran from the 1st March 1957 to the 15th October for a total of thirty three articles.

person defining it.'[74] Nevertheless, as this chapter will show, the ambiguity of nationalism in all its guises had its uses in the 1950s. As Japanese intellectuals, journalists and commentators sought to re-construct ideas of nation, the ambiguity of the terms they used was reflected in media coverage of the developing Cold War and reinforced by domestic concerns.

As Victor Koschmann has pointed out, nation, together with class and humanity, was intimately connected to the wider context of postwar reconstruction.[75] As the Cold War developed, a more flexible attitude towards redefining ideas of nation became necessary. In 1950, Marxist historians had split over the historical nature of the Japanese nation. According to Curtis Anderson Gayle, the so-called *minzoku* faction saw the ethnic nation as the product of long historical processes developing from a pre-modern ethnie. The modernisation faction, on the other hand, saw the ethnic nation in Japan as being formed through the contemporary modernisation process, the development of capitalism and the rise of Western colonialism.[76] Writing in the highbrow journal *Shisō* in May 1952, Marxist historian Inoue Kiyoshi noted that the word *minzoku* had many uses and was 'mostly the same as race, nation, nationality, and also people.' A member of the modernisation faction, Inoue believed that *Minzokushugi* was equivalent to the modern ideology of nationalism. The idea of a cultural nation (*minzoku*) only emerged and developed as a means for the Japanese people and the state to confront the threat of domination by the West and excessive westernisation in the Meiji period. Inoue saw the importance of ethnic national consciousness in its role in modernising Japan and defending the country against external interference.

Despite acknowledging the importance of the cultural nation and its profound influence on the modernisation of Japan, Inoue had trouble with the definition of nation and noted that the same problem was evident in Europe. 'Some think it is the love of and loyalty to a free nation (*jiyūminzoku e*), while for others it is more than that, and aims towards elevating the profit of a (particular) nation above all other in a

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[74] 'Aimai na Kotoba', *Asahi Shimbun,* July 5th 1957.
[75] J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 4-5.
[76] Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Marxist History and Postwar Japanese Nationalism*, (London: RoutledgeCourzon, 2002), p. 86.

world of free nations (*jiyūminzoku)*.'[77] Other people applied the term ethnic nationalism (*minzokushugi*) to subordinated nations in Asia and Africa which were fighting for their independence from colonial rule. In Inoue's opinion, the term was clearly ambiguous, and as the 1957 *Asahi Shimbun* article pointed out, its definition was very often a matter of personal choice.

Also writing in 1952, historian Eguchi Bokurō emphasised that the 'nation problem' (*minzoku no mondai*) had been, along with peace and fascism, an important topic of debate within Japanese academia and the press for over a year. Eguchi thought the problem had to be considered from two different angles and found it necessary to separate what he labelled the 'subjective' and 'objective' existence of the nation. The problem of the nation should first be examined from an objective position. He saw a Japanese ethnic national consciousness continuing to develop along with postwar national transformation. Because world history, especially modern history, had most often been expressed as national history, in Eguchi's view the problem of ethnic nationalism was closely tied to the history of the nation and the establishment of the modern state. 'Those large countries of the West which were able to create a strong modern state', had been at the heart of modern history.

However, the process of modernisation had not benefitted everyone equally, and the continual subjugation of nature, reaching its apogee with the atomic bombings, had brought only fear and unease to many people. By adopting a pattern of rational thought from the Western enlightenment, Japan had played a role in this process. 'Over the last fifty years Japan has achieved its development as a modern country only through the great sacrifice of many nations (*minzoku*).'[78] As a modern imperial power, Germany had to deal with its own problem of nation after defeat in the Great War, and the more recent Nazi occupation of France had to be opposed by the nation, what Eguchi described as the resistance of the people (*kokuminteki teikō*). In 1952, with almost half of the world's capitalist production under the control of the United States, Eguchi saw it as no surprise that the question of national independence had begun to be raised in many countries.

For Eguchi, 'the oppositional and subordinate relations within world history' were brought together in the national problem (*minzoku mondai*). It was world history

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[77] Inoue, 'Nihon ni Okeru Minzokushugi no Rekishi to Dentō', *Shisō*, No 335, May 1952, p. 405.
[78] Eguchi Bokurō, 'Nihon ni Okeru Minzokuteki na Mono', *Chūō Kōron*, Vol 67, No 4, 1952.

that brought the ethnic nation to the attention of the masses as a subjective entity. The various crises which were directly affecting many nations (*minzoku*) in the capitalist world were 'forcing them (the masses) more and more to become conscious of nationalistic things (*minzokuteki na mono*).' Eguchi didn't go so far as to outline what might constitute *minzokuteki na mono*, indeed he claimed that the question of what comprises the nation (*minzoku wa nanzo ya*) was in desperate need of an objective definition. What was certain was that 'if one nation does not have the consciousness of being one nation the 'national problem' cannot arise.'[79] The question Eguchi posed was how the nation perceives the crises with which it is faced. This was not just a question of subjectivity but was linked to the particular concrete historical circumstances of each nation. If Japan wanted to discuss the future of its own nation, it would be necessary to understand the concrete historical circumstances which had given rise to the subjective existence of that nation — the feeling among the people of belonging to the nation. Given the international situation that pertained at the time, it was important for Japan, in Eguchi's words 'to believe that it is a nation (*minzoku toshite no jishin*).' This was not simply a question of understanding the difference between what was western and what was Japanese. Japan had to learn how to interest the masses in what *was* traditionally Japanese. The problem was the objective circumstances of Japan's development meant that this revival of tradition carried with it many complicated connotations. Eguchi believed that after the Meiji restoration the idea that the people should free themselves from the problems they faced was very weak. In Japan cultural production was controlled by the upper classes, and the gulf between real 'ethnic/cultural national things' (*tadashī minzokuteki na mono*) and the ways of politics and culture had widened. The best example of this gap was the use of the concept of *bushido* as an ideal of honourable death during the war. The insistence on this warrior ethic appeared more as 'a return to feudalism' than a search for tradition.[80] The development of the ethnic nation entailed a process of differentiation along cultural lines and objective historical circumstances, which Eguchi saw as essential to an ethnic idea of nation, and which had resulted in an oppositional relationship with the west. But those circumstances had also separated the everyday life of the people from ideas of nation.

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[79]Ibid, p. 14.
[80] Ibid.

In *Chūō Kōron*, in the same month, another historian specialising in Japanese thought and cultural history, Matsushima Eiji, also pointed out that the word nationalism had been used 'up to now with many different meanings.' But for Matsushima, the problem lay simply in a conflation of terms in modern society. '*Minzoku* consciousness (*minzokuishiki)* is the same as *kokumin* consciousness (*kokuminishiki)*, indeed it is possible to say the same as *kokuminkanjō*.' He even went so far as to claim that *minzokuishiki* was the same as patriotic feeling (*aikokushin*).[81] People could freely choose their definition of *minzoku* and *minzokushugi*, but different definitions produced different evaluations, giving rise, as Inoue pointed out, to problems and mistakes. Such ambiguity was a reflection of the domestic need to come to terms with the actions of the Japanese wartime state and the international situation during the early years of the Cold War.

The Anti-nationalist Nation

Within the context of postwar Occupation plans for the democratisation and demilitarisation of Japan, the choice for the Japanese people was between a clean break with the past and the question of continuity. The perceived power of Japanese nationalism and its apparently vehement anti-western racism also helped to convince the Supreme Command for Allied Powers (SCAP) that all traces of Japanese militarism had to be stamped out. Prewar and wartime Japanese nationalism had been tied to a militaristic pan-Asian ideology, creating a chauvinistic nationalism centred on the image of a pure Japanese race (*Yamato Minzoku*).[82] In going to war, Japanese leaders had shown they were 'determined to part, once and for all, from an earlier definition of national life that had underlain Japan's external affairs since the Meiji Restoration.' The rapid industrialisation of the Meiji period had accompanied efforts to integrate the country into the world economy. Japan had regained tariff autonomy, developed its exports, encouraged emigration and colonisation, and otherwise tried to act like a member of the community of advanced industrial nations, only to find the

[81] Matsushima Eiji, 'Minzokuishiki to Sono Ugoki', *Chūō Kōron*, Vol 67 No. 4, 1952.
[82] John Dower, 'Race, Language, and War in Two Cultures: World War II in Asia', in *Ways of Forgetting and Ways of Remembering: Japan in the Modern World*, (New York: New Press, 2012), pp. 46-102; Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War: 1931-1945*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 6-7.

international situation had altered by the late 1920s.[83] Postwar national life would need to tie the nation's history to the guiding principles of the Occupation-a peaceful and democratic Japan. After 1945, as John Dower has noted, wartime ideals of purity and purification became focused on the goals of the US Occupation. The purging of militarism and feudalism harnessed militaristic ideology, but 'universal 'democratic' values now became the touchstone of purity.'[84]

The early period of the American-led Occupation of Japan, beginning in September 1945, focused on the ideological conversion of the Japanese people to these universal values. Revulsion at Japan's wartime actions and the jingoistic ideology, which had guided imperial expansion, entailed social engineering by the allies to change Japanese social values.[85] Gradually, the realisation of defeat and the growing recognition that the Occupation troops were not as bad as wartime propaganda had alleged helped dissipate the pervading anti-western, emperor-centred nationalism. As one scholar put it looking back in 1960, immediately after the war the Japanese had become anti-nationalistic. At the end of the war it appeared necessary to completely eradicate Japanese nationalism in order for democracy to take root. This meant that most Japanese people became, in Sakamoto Yoshikazu's opinion, 'democratic anti-nationalists (*minshushugiteki han-nashonarisuto*).'[86] Even Nosaka Sanzo, an early postwar leader of the Japanese Communist Party saw the allied victory as having set the course of Japanese history towards possibilities for future democracy. The Occupation had freed the Japanese people 'toward a realization that democracy was in their grasp.'[87]

The purge of wartime leaders and the dismantling of the coercive institutions of the wartime state mandated by the Occupation authorities played an important part in this process. As Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita point out, by erasing 'dehumanizing wartime images and prejudices, the Occupation administration sought to remold Japan and its people in order to create democratic and representative organisations that honoured individual liberties and respect for fundamental human

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[83] Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941-1945*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 1-5.
[84] Dower, 'Race, Language and War in Two Cultures', pp. 100-101.
[85] Takemae Eiji, *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, (London: Continuum, 2003), Introduction p. XXXiX.
[86] Sakamoto Yoshikazu, 'Kakushin Nashonarizumu-shiki Ron,' *Chūō Kōron*, October 1960, p. 44.
[87] Gayle, Marxist History, pp. 42-43.

rights.'[88] In SCAP's view, the destruction of the military state was essential. Prime Minister Katayama Tetsu's 1947 call for the creation of 'a democratic nation of peace, a nation of culture,' [89] was not only an important goal for the establishment of postwar Japan, it was also a timely reflection of the quest of many intellectuals to overcome the issue of wartime guilt.[90] The distinction between a healthy nationalism and the evils of chauvinistic ethnic ideas of nation was essential to this goal.

The whole process of remaking the nation was deeply linked to the questions of the relationship between Japanese nationalism and democracy, responsibility for the war and the future basis of the political system.[91] As Oguma Eiji has shown, much of the language used to discuss ideas of nation in the early period of the Occupation came out of wartime concerns with morality. [92] Indeed, the intellectual formulations and values of many postwar thinkers reflected a 'basic existential engagement' with the modes and structures of thought from the old imperial system.[93] Nevertheless, during the Occupation, the question of how best to reconstruct the principles uniting the Japanese as a nation was juxtaposed with the issue of how to rebuild the country after the devastation of total defeat.

In this context, postwar intellectuals were deeply divided over the nature of the nation and how it should be imagined. The terms of the debate undoubtedly had prewar associations but the changing nature of the international situation also became a focal point for journalists, commentators and intellectuals. As the scientist and essayist Nakaya Ukichiro saw it, during the wartime images of the soldiers fighting on the frontline helped bring the Japanese nation (*kokumin*) together, but in the postwar period there was a need for the 'reality of a new myth' that could unite the

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[88] Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita, 'The U.S Occupation of Japan-Innovation, Continuity and Compromise,' in Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita Eds. *Democracy in Occupied japan: The U.S Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society*, (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 1.
[89] Cited in John Dower, 'Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict', in Andrew Gordon Ed. *Postwar Japan as History*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1991), p. 3.
[90] Iokibe, Makoto Ed. *Sensō, Senryō, Kōwa:1941-1955*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2001), p. 404; Rikki Kersten, *Democracy in Postwar Japan: Maruyama Masao and the Search for Autonomy*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.13-48.
[91] Nagatsuma Misao, 'Renzoku to Dansetsu no Sokoku, Senryō to Nashonarizumu', in Yonehara Ken and Nagatsuma Misao Eds. *Nashonarizumu no Jidai Seishin: Bakumatsu kara Reisengo Made*, (Nara: Kizasu Shobō, 2009), pp. 97-100.
[92] Oguma Eiji, *'Minshū' to 'Aikokju' Sengō Nihon no Nashonarizumu to Kokkyōsei*, (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2004), p.65, pp. 29-65.
[93] Andrew E. Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 230.

people as a nation.[94] In this context, the struggle and challenge for many postwar intellectuals lay in the definition of nation (*minzoku*) and the extent to which it could include 'universal characteristics'. As Andrew Barshay has noted, with the collapse of the imperial regime, the old hegemonic nation disintegrated. [95] Questions of universality and subjectivity, at the very root of ideas of nation, could no longer appeal to the shared destiny of the empire or the superiority of the people on the Japanese mainland. The difficulty of defining the terms *kokumin* and *minzoku* was deeply connected to both the imperial past and the Cold War present.

In attempting to tackle the problem of how to define the nation, the 1957 *Asahi Shimbun* took a historical approach. The newspaper cited historian Kinoshita Hanji who asserted that the basis of nationalism was the existence of an ethnic nation (*minzoku*). Living within a shared territory, with a shared culture, religion and language, each *minzoku* shared the same history. They also shared an economy. As happened in 17th century Europe, with the decline of the Holy Roman Empire, the ethnic nation became the focus of the Nation-State (*minzoku kokka)*. According to the article, it was this idea of nation that emerged, in opposition to the dominance of Napoleonic France, to provide 'a cultural basis in history for a political consciousness'. In Japan however, the development of a nation-based political consciousness had been stunted by the autocratic Japanese state in the latter part of the Meiji period.[96]

In the following month, August 1957, Abe Kozō also pointed out the confusion of the Japanese concepts of *kokumin* and *minzoku*. He saw this confusion not only as a linguistic conundrum; for him, it was actually inherent in Japanese nationalism. As Kinoshita Hanji argued, the retarded development of a healthy political national consciousness (*kokumin*) had a historical explanation. It stemmed from a deformity in the modernisation and development of Japanese nationalism in the *Bakumatsu* period just before the Meiji Restoration. In Japan, ethnic national consciousness (*minzoku ishiki*) was brought about by the lower strata of the warrior class, rather than by the bourgeoisie, as it was in Europe. This gave a conservative tinge to the development of national consciousness in Japan. Abe saw that in Europe, as well as in the new nationalist movements in Asia and Africa, nationalism and

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[94] Nagatsuma, 'Renzoku to Dansetsu', pp. 104-105.
[95] Barshay, State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan, p. 230.
[96] 'Nashonarizumu', *Asahi Shimbun*, July 5th 1957.

social revolution were strongly linked, yet the 19th century Japanese warrior class had not linked nationalism with any reform of the feudal system. For Abe, nationalism in Japan was from its very beginnings linked to the desire of the leaders of the early Meiji period for autocratic power.[97] Seen from this viewpoint, nationalism in Japan had come from the top down. The Japanese people had been unable to emerge as a counterbalance to the power of the state. Nationalism in Japan easily took on the duty of justifying Japanese Imperialism. 'Unlike in France and Britain, nationalism in Japan helped suppress movements for democracy, liberalism or worker's rights.'[98]

For Abe and Kinoshita, the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) was the basis for the development of a political national consciousness in Japan. Yet it was because of the particular historical conditions within which Japanese nationalism had developed in the Meiji period that an active political consciousness had failed to attach to Japanese nationalism. This historical deformity needed to be rectified. In the early 1950s, it was in this context that Occupation policies aimed at ridding Japan of militarism and promoting peace and democracy helped fuel ideas of nation in opposition to the state. During the same period, national liberation movements were fighting for independence from their colonial rulers throughout Africa and Asia. In Japan, Marxist thinkers pressed the case for social and political revolution through a 'national awakening.' This would free the cultural nation from the deleterious effects of external manipulation and internal coercion.[99] At the same time, moderate and liberal intellectuals saw the nation standing in opposition to the state by allying itself to ideas of liberal democracy and peace. The debates and discussions of intellectuals, journalists and commentators reflected the divisions of the Cold War.

Many intellectuals took the early Meiji period to be the best guide for the future direction of Japanese ideas of nation. With wartime and prewar ideas discredited, some intellectuals set a democratic idea of nation in opposition to the negative and ultimately disastrous prewar state-centred nationalism (*kokkashugi*). Just as Kinoshita and Abe traced the deformity in Japan's nationalism back to the restoration, the more democratic idea of nation was traced back to the 'opening' of the country in the Meiji period. Through postwar thinkers such as Maruyama Masao, the ideas of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Meiji period 'enlightenment' were put forward as a

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[97] Abe Kōzō, 'Nihon no Nashonarizumu', *Asahi Shimbun*, 14th August 1957.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Gayle, Marxist History, p. 1.

model for Japan's future national identity. Ienaga Saburo has pointed out that Fukuzawa himself could be seen to support a state-centred style of nationalism. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the Occupation he came to be seen as 'the father of Japanese democracy.'[100] In his apparent quest to establish a democratic nationalism in Japan, Fukuzawa was 'a thinker who was focused on demolishing the "feudal consciousness" imbued in the Japanese people and on rooting a "European civic culture" on Japanese soil…'[101] As Maruyama Masao put it, the task of the intellectual in the postwar period was to complete the democratic revolution and bring about a new normative consciousness.[102]

This domestic and state-centred concern with shaping ideas of nation in light of defeat, occupation and the disintegration of empire was sharpened by the international situation. As Sebastian Conrad has noted, Japan's history needed to be integrated into universal historical processes that would allow the country's peculiarities to be viewed as the result of backwardness rather than 'as the point of departure for visions of an alternative geopolitical hegemony.'[103] At the same time, the democracy established by the Occupation was in a 'state of flux and openness' throughout the 1950s and 1960s as the process of establishing a Cold War global order played out.[104] For the Historical Science Society, after defeat 'it was high time to look at Japanese history from the standpoint of democracy and world history.'[105] The Occupation goal of eradicating what it saw as the negative Emperor-centred nationalism of the pre-war and wartime elites tied in to a broader discourse concerning the nature of nationalism and the ends to which ideas of nation could be put.

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[100] Ienaga Saburō, 'Minkenron kara Nashonarizumu he', in *Minkenron kara Nashonarizumu he*, *Meiji Shiryō Kenkyū Renraku Kai*, (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 1957), pp. 13-32, p. 21.
[101] Kersten, Democracy in Postwar Japan, p. 149; Kevin M. Doak, *Placing the People: A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 25-27; Karube Tadashi, *Maruyama Masao and the Fate of Liberalism in Twentieth-Century Japan*, (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2008), p. 70; Kazuo Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude*, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 235.
[102] Andrew E. Barshay, *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxist and Modernist Traditions*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 65.
[103] Sebastian Conrad, *The Quest for the Lost Nation: Writing History in Germany and Japan in the American Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 171-172.
[104] Ann Sherif, *Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature and the Law*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 206.
[105] Gayle, Marxist History, p. 43.

Many of the intellectuals writing in the general interest journals were hoping to overcome their own associations with the wartime state. The spectre of an ethnic *minzoku* nationalism that during the wartime had excluded others and was used to justify reaction, intolerance and the oppression of other nations remained strong.[106] Yet the end of the Occupation in 1952 came at a time of strong movements for independence from colonial rulers in Asia and Africa, and for many intellectuals, Japan needed to follow the example of those countries and throw off United States domination. The bi-polar division of the international arena in the early 1950s meant that the threat of Soviet hegemony was just as powerful as US neo-imperialism. Far from being anti-nationalists, in the 1950s the very ambiguity of the idea of nationalism proved its usefulness for the Japanese in coming to terms with the war and the ambiguity of the deepening Cold War standoff. The nature of the international situation reinforced the ambiguity of ideas of nation and nationalism as intellectuals, journalists and commentators sought to tie ethnic nationalism to democracy and social revolution. They also attempted to connect that nationalism to a peaceful internationalism and the reconstruction of the Japanese economy.

The Cold War nation

Following the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945, anti-colonial nationalist movements in Asia continued their push for political independence from European colonial rulers. The influence of the Japanese in Southeast Asia during the early 1940s had helped to break the mystique as well as the institutions of Western colonialism. But while the struggle for national independence in those countries was fuelled by the belief that independence would bring some protection from the vagaries of international power politics, in many respects the post-war period was even more hostile and dangerous than it had been in the early 1940s.[107] The ideological standoff of the Cold War quickly narrowed the options for newly independent states. The promotion and encouragement of economic development may have been presented in the language of cooperation and construction, but schemes such as the Colombo plan were also an attack on the problems created by the link between poverty and nationalism, and 'though it is not stressed by its sponsors-to combat Communist

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[106] Gushima, 'Nashonarizumu no Shiteki Tenbō', pp. 13-16.
[107] David Joel Steinberg Ed. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp. 349-355.

influence…'[108] economic independence was not a necessary concomitant of political independence. In this context, discussion over ideas of nation in Japan was also an attempt to deal with Japan's subordinate international role.

The early period of the Occupation was idealist in its goals and plans for postwar Japan. But by the middle of 1947 the economic recovery of the country had become a major concern for the United States. The development of a containment strategy against communism in Northeast Asia as well as domestic political considerations meant that Washington began to push for the economic stabilisation of Japan.[109] In early 1948, US Army Secretary Kenneth Royall pointed to changes in the international situation as the cause for a re-examination of policy toward Japan. The policy of economic decentralisation needed to be reconsidered, as did the purges carried out against those involved with the wartime regime or ultra-nationalist groups. There were calls within the Occupation policy for Japanese rearmament, the de-purging of right-wing leaders and new purges of the left. This shift helped to clarify Japan's importance to the United States within the context of the international Cold War.[110] By the late 1940s, state department Policy Planning Chief George F. Kennan believed that American security in Asia required the rejection of commitments to China, control of offshore Pacific islands and 'harnessing the economic potential of a truly friendly Japan.'[111] In 1948, Kennan convinced congress to introduce the Economic Relief in Occupied Areas (EROA) plan for one year.

This plan provided loans to the Japanese government to be used in the reconstruction of the country's economy. As Takamae Eiji points out, the goal of this funding was to develop export-oriented industries and more generally 'to stimulate the economic revival of the Far East.'[112] At the same time, because of the fear that Japan's desperate need for raw materials and markets could provide communist powers with a means to bring Japan under their influence generous access to US

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[108] Charles S. Blackton, The Colombo Plan, *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 20, No 3 (Feb. 7, 1951) pp. 27-31, 28; Earl E. Hyuck, 'The Colombo Plan: Progress on the Sub-continent', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Winter 1953.
[109] Michael Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia*, (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1985), pp. 98-106; Iokibe, Sensō, Senryō, Kowa, pp. 343-346.
[110] Ivan Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: A Study of Postwar Trends*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, London, 1960), pp. 107-120; Iokibe, Sensō, Senryō, Kowa, pp. 342-343.
[111] Schaller, The American Occupation of Japan, p. 123.
[112] Takemae, The Allied Occupation, p. 461.

markets was seen as essential.[113] In January 1950, the *Yomiuri* newspaper emphasised that the US hoped to return Japan to the position of a strong country. The paper pointed out that US Secretary of State Dean Acheson had made clear the importance of Japan for US Cold War strategy. The US needed to rebuild Japan 'as the main defence against communism in Asia.' For this it would be necessary to support Japan's trade in the international economy and provide aid to bring stability to the Japanese domestic economy.[114] Nevertheless, by the early 1950s, plans for the economic rehabilitation of Japan into the non-communist economic bloc were proving contentious. Britain was concerned about Japanese competition for the markets of its former colonial possessions and within the US there were worries over competition for US manufacturing because of a perception of 'lax labour standards' and a low wage economy.[115] The issue of a peace treaty with Japan became pressing and calls for its quick conclusion grew even before the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula in the summer of 1950.

Ultimately, the conclusion of the San Francisco treaty, as many in the United States acknowledged, integrated Japan into the non-communist bloc and created a permanent structure of US control.[116] In the midst of the Korean War, the treaty firmly set Japan on the side of the 'Free World'. In the written media, the ambiguity and instability of the international situation came to the fore. The people were presented with a stark choice between 'Free World' democracy and Soviet communism. On January 1st 1952, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported an interview given by John Foster-Dulles, the author of the San-Francisco Treaty, to the American television channel CBS. Discussing the situation in Korea, Dulles pointed out that while the heavy land battles had ended, the political problems of the peninsula had not been solved. According to Dulles, it was thanks to the bravery of the US forces and the help of allied countries that the invading armies had been stopped. Nevertheless, the country was politically divided and the Korean people faced a dangerous outlook for the New Year. The Japanese people had given their all to side with the 'Free

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[113] Michael Schaller, 'Japan and the Cold War, 1960-1991', in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad Eds. *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Vol 2*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 156.
[114] 'Nihon wo Futatabi Yuryokukoku ni', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 12th 1950.
[115] Sayuri Shimizu, *Creating People of Plenty: The United States and Japan's Economic Alternatives, 1950-1960*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001), pp. 11-14.
[116] Dower, 'Peace and Democracy', p. 11.

World and its destiny' despite the fact that they had been offered 'the bait of cheap resources from the Soviet Union.' Dulles believed that the Japanese people understood that efforts to bring Japan over to the side of the Soviet Union would continue, but he was confident that the Japanese would be able to resist.[117] On the same front page was a New Year message from the Soviet leader Josef Stalin. His message was designed to send the goodwill of the people of the Soviet Union to the 'good people of Japan under foreign occupation.' The article conveyed a 'wish for the freedom and fortune of the Japanese people (*kokumin)*', as well as 'success in their fight to become an independent country.'[118] Both Stalin's and Dulles' comments clearly emphasised the importance of Japan and the Japanese within the dynamics of the Cold War. Whereas Dulles presented the image of a free people choosing to join the free world, Stalin made clear the political and economic subordination of Japan to the United States. The newspaper's front-page juxtaposition of the two messages was a powerful symbol of the precariousness of Japan's position as the Occupation came to an end.[119]

The importance of this ideological battle for the coming year was further underlined by an editorial on the same front page entitled 'The outlook for Peace through Power.' Europe had made progress economically, politically, and militarily towards a more stable and unified continent. The European Coal and Steel Community came into existence in 1951, but according to the article, 1952 would be a decisive year for the security of Europe. It was a presidential election year in the United States, but also the most important year for a decisive plan for peace in Europe. The editorial stressed that the US advisory role in the region could not be shirked and neither could its military assistance. For some time the United States had been encouraging European countries to rebuild their military infrastructure. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) had been established in 1949 in part to ease the path to German rearmament. But the *Yomiuri Shimbun* criticised the fact that by the early 1950s a belief that peace could be maintained through the projection of

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[117] 'Nihon, So no Esa ni Odorazu', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 3rd 1952.
[118] 'Heiwa Iji ni Seikō wo Kibō', *Yomiuri Shimbun,* January 3rd 1952.
[119] In light of the close links between the newspaper's owner Shoriki Matsutaro and the CIA and state department, this juxtaposition was most likely meant to portray Japan's dangerous and precarious position. See Arima Testuo, *Nihon Terebi to CIA: Hakkutsusareta Shōriki Fairu*, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2006); Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

military power seemed to be giving way, for practical reasons, to a focus on culture and ideology. The editorial emphasised that the policy of peace through power needed to continue, but with the end of the Marshall Plan, funding for re-armament was a big problem for European countries.[120] In this context there was a split between the US and Europe over the issue of rearmament. For European countries such as France or Italy it was the economic cost of rearmament that was the problem.[121] The instability of the French currency and the British pound demonstrated the political danger of pushing rearmament. Worker unrest in Italy and France had made this danger all too clear. The *Yomiuri* argued that while international peace may have rested on military power, the Soviet Union's influence also extended through persuasion. Dialogue was as important as military might. With the early end of the Marshall Plan and worries over the feasibility of continuing a policy of peace through power, this was something Europe, the US, and Japan needed to take into consideration.[122]

By the early 1950s, calls for fully-fledged rearmament in Japan were met by a push from the Japanese left for unaligned neutrality. Yet according to the *Asahi Shimbun*, public opinion surveys indicated that the Japanese public preferred neutrality in the guise of uninvolvement. Despite this, the Japanese government's defence budget had reached eighteen billion yen by 1952, and appeared to the Japanese people and many members of the parliamentary opposition to point to nothing less than rearmament. The National Police Reserve, set up in 1950, had originally numbered 75,000 men but by October 1952 the number had increased to 110,000.[123] The government repeatedly claimed the money was for essential self-defence. 'In any case, it was not an adequate amount for rearmament, which would require vast sums to be spent on naval and land forces'. Still, the Asahi claimed that the repeated denials were 'difficult for the people to swallow.' Remarks made by the Japanese Justice Minister that 'for war it is necessary to have a military force suitable for warfare…' worried the newspaper. The minister pointed out that Japan's police force, set up in 1950 and limited to 75,000 men, was far from suitable for war and was only there to ensure political security. The government and even members of the

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[120] 'Chikara ni Yoru Heiwa no Mitōshi', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 3rd 1952.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] 'Kokumin no Giwaku o Toke', *Asahi Shimbun*, February 3rd 1952; John Dower, *Empire and Aftermath*: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience: 1878-1954, (Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 386.

opposition denied any accusations that the rise in spending on the police could be classed as rearmament. Yet by 1952 it was becoming increasingly clear that the denial of rearmament was simply down to a strong awareness that the Japanese people were unlikely to support any change in article nine of the postwar constitution, rather than an accurate description of government actions.[124]

The *Asahi* editorial called for the government to come clean about the nature of the considerable increase in funds for the National Police Reserve. At the same time it emphasised the need for the Diet, the government, and the opposition parties, to decide if this increase in spending amounted to rearmament or not. If it did, then the Japanese people should be asked to make a decision in favour or against. A general election, according to the newspaper, would then allow the 'actions of the government and the people's everyday lives to be in agreement with the constitution'. The discussion of rearmament and the perilous nature of the Cold War world linked the economic decisions of the government to the everyday livelihood (*kokumin seikatsu*) of the Japanese people.[125] Government spending on rearmament at a time when most Japanese people were still struggling to find nutritious food and adequate shelter was an example of how out of step government policy was with the people's everyday experience. Yet it was also evidence of the direct impact the Cold War had on ideas of nation in Japan. The debate over food and nutrition was one element of this, and will be discussed in the following chapter. Ultimately, the split in the international environment of the Cold War helped give shape to a split in ideas of nation in Japan as the Occupation came to an end.

The Divided Nation

In an article in *Chūō Kōron* in April1952, Inoki Masamichi claimed that by the early 1950s the ideological division of the international arena had sparked a reorganisation within both nationalism and internationalism. The article was entitled *The Direction of Japanese Nationalism* and carried the sub-heading 'Nationalism and International solidarity'. It made clear the painful dilemma faced by Japan and the wider world. According to Inoki, the usual belief that when ethnic nationalism was quiet, international solidarity could emerge and when internationalism was weak,

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[124] Ibid.
[125] 'Ibid.

nationalism would suddenly rise up, no longer held true in Japan. The two concepts no longer balanced each other out. Japanese nationalism had been split along the lines of the ideological division between the United States and the Soviet Union. 'In front of our eyes, two types of ethnic nationalism have become indivisible from two types of internationalism'.[126] In Japan an anti-Soviet, anti-communist *nationalism* combined with an anti-Soviet, anti-communist *internationalism* was opposed by an anti-American, anti-imperialist *nationalism*, which was itself combined with anti-American, anti-imperialist *internationalism*. Domestic nationalism mirrored the ideological split which was fuelling the Cold War.

Given this situation, Inoki questioned the most suitable direction for Japanese nationalism. He wondered whether Japan should continue to side with the United Sates or switch its support to the communist bloc. The split was dangerous for the internal stability of the country. Inoki believed that in the immediate postwar world nationalism had seemed to offer the prospect of combining with internationalism to form a perfect system. Unfortunately defeat, and the sense of inferiority it brought to the Japanese through the occupation of the country by the United States, had all but eradicated Japanese nationalism. For Inoki, a utopian sense of internationalism was all that was left of a nationalism that had continued since the Meiji period. Immediately after the war, the possibility existed of channelling this utopianism through the new constitution, offering the chance of a utopian, internationalist commitment to peace. However, the international events of the late 1940s had thrust Japan into a greatly altered and strategically important position within international power politics. The outbreak of the Korean War, which at its beginning had seemed merely a local problem, 'turned Japan into a base for the anti-soviet, anti-communist camp'.[127] Japan itself had no choice over which camp it became part of. Occupation by the United States and involvement on the side of the allies in the Korean War had already decided this.

It was at this point, according to Inoki, that the Japanese people's nationalistic trend (*minzokushugiteki kiren*) quickly reorganised itself into the division between the opposed camps of anti-soviet, anti-communist nationalism, or anti-American, anti-imperialist nationalism. The domestic and the international were linked. It was not

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[126] Inoki Masamichi, *'Nihon no Minzokushugi no Hōkō', Chūō Kōron*, Vol 67 No 4, 1952, p. 4.
[127] Ibid, p. 6.

only the international community that had been divided; Japanese nationalism itself had been split. As the culmination of the power of ultra-nationalism, the Second World War had clearly demonstrated that when internationalism combines with the worst kind of expansionist nationalism it could destroy itself. The split did not just pose the danger of a third world war, but within Japan, in view of the country's recent history, it presented a real danger of internal unrest.[128]

After a period of anti-nationalist democratic sentiment following defeat, Inoki saw three aspects to the nationalistic trend that was developing in Japan. Firstly, the social disorder immediately following the surrender, especially riots by Chinese and Korean residents in Japan, was hard for the Japanese people to understand. The second aspect was a growing disillusionment with the Occupation. Although greeted at first as liberating angels, there had been a gradual sense of discontent that had begun to manifest itself as anti-American sentiment. Communists, supporters of the emperor system, and patriots who saw the collapse of virtue and the destruction of the people's spirit as being due to the Occupation, were all united in the view that the occupation must end. Added to these internal conditions, the anti-Japanese propaganda of Soviet Russia had increased the anti-Soviet mood of the people. Ultimately, the liberal democratic emancipation promised by the Americans had not been grasped by Japan. In Inoki's view, if the power of social liberal democracy had caught the nationalistic mood of 'our people's ethnic nationalism' (*kokumin no minzokushugi*), that nationalism would have escaped from its division into anti-soviet, anti-communist or anti-America, anti-imperialist camps. Unfortunately, the Japanese people had become either ultra-conservative or ultra-left wing socialists. Ultra-conservatism pushed in the direction of an anti-soviet, anti-communist nationalism. The right wing nature of Japanese farmers, who 'with their pedlars, hawkers and hoodlums form the guerrilla army of anti-soviet, anti-communist nationalism', was a result of the Russian anti-Japanese stance. For Inoki, 'bourgeois window-dressing which sought to escape from Asia by presenting Japan as a Western country' as well as a quiet patriotism which since the Meiji restoration had harboured the conscious fear of Japan becoming a colony of the West, only added to this ultra-conservatism.[129]

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid, p. 9.

Japanese people in their sixties still harboured memories of the wars against China and Russia, and this fed a patriotism not shared by younger Japanese. Inoki saw it as a problem that young university students had no recollection of the international political situation or of the situation within Japan which had led to the war and the defeat of 1945. Calls for national independence, and the anti-colonialism of the communist slogans, had a hold on the young as they turned against America. But those young people failed to realise that the pre-war strength of Japan itself was built on imperialism and foreign labour, as well as colonialism. For Inoki, the tragedy of Japanese nationalism in 1952 lay in this division between the generations. Their ideas of patriotism each had a different focus and added to the division over the Cold War struggle. The only solution was to check the hardening of the opposition between the two nationalisms, as Japan was again faced with the choice of whether to fight against imperialism on the side of proletarian internationalism, or as the big brother of Asia under the British/American slogan of 'freedom for people of all countries'. Inoki rejected both choices, and while he admitted that 'some may say it is too late', and that in failing to decide either way Japan would be crushed by one giant or another, he maintained it was up to the intelligentsia to make a choice, or run the risk of unrest within Japan and war abroad.[130]

The ideological divide of the Cold War posed a serious dilemma for intellectuals, journalists and commentators discussing ideas of nation in Japan as the Occupation came to an end. Far from putting forward a clear cut idea of the nation, ethnic nationalism was itself divided and put into service by differing political considerations. This situation was exacerbated by the emergence of anti-colonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa. Tokyo University president Yanaihara Tadao, writing at the beginning of 1952, claimed that Japan had already experienced such nationalism in the Meiji period. At that time the country was threatened with losing its independence as the powerful western imperial countries sought more colonies in Asia. In Yanaihara's opinion, this threat had created a group consciousness of a shared national destiny in the Meiji period and brought people together to maintain national independence against foreign invasion.[131] The development of domestic capitalism in the Meiji period had brought about the economic basis for the

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[130] Ibid.
[131] Yanaihara Tadao, 'Minzoku no Kabu to Heiwa no Kabu', *Sekai*, No. 73, January 1952, pp. 8-17.

establishment of a nation-state (*minzoku kokka)*. As far as Yanaihara was concerned, by the time Japan had begun to embark on the path of modernisation, the country was already a nation-state. The development of a shared consciousness during the Meiji period meant that after defeat in 1945, pure ethnic nationalism (*tanjun minzokushugi*) could not totally disappear within Japan.[132] It was also no surprise that ethnic national movements were now gaining ground in Asia. Japanese imperialism had collapsed in 1945, but only after freeing those countries from the threat of western colonialism, allowing them to press for the creation of their own nation-state.

In an article in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, also published in January 1952, Yanaihara warned that because Japan had passed through that stage of development of national consciousness now being experienced by countries in Africa and Asia much earlier (Japan was 'the first to establish *minzokushugi* and at the same time is responsible for leading Asia into the mess of today') the important question was 'would "the spectre of ethnic nationalism" floating over the mess of Asia bring happiness and prosperity or more misery?'[133] Through its actions as an imperial power in East Asia, Japan had lit the fuse of ethnic nationalism and, like Inoki, Yanaihara maintained that the division of the international arena along ideological lines had created two types of ethnic nationalism. The first, 'pure ethnic nationalism' had been brought about by Japan's actions in Asia as an imperial power, by focusing attention on opposing the colonialism of the West and by denying the populations control over their own state. The second, 'red ethnic nationalism' was spread by the Soviet Union. Yanaihara warned of the warlike character of this type of nationalism, which would pose a real danger should it spread. After the war it was this type of ethnic nationalism that had been the first to develop in Japan, and had pushed calls for Japanese national independence. Japan no longer led Asia, and in the *Yomiuri* article Yanaihara appeared pessimistic about the direction of Asian nationalism. He claimed that if it was allowed to spread, the Soviet Union's conception of ethnic nationalism could lead to war, the danger of which 'follows the ethnic nationalist movements of today.'[134]

In the early 1950s, the international setting within which politicians, journalists, intellectuals and commentators discussed and debated ideas of nation in

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[132] Ibid.
[133] Yanaihara Tadao, 'Dokuritsu no Toshi no Seinen ni Utau', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 3rd 1952.
[134] Ibid.

Japan was fundamentally ambiguous and unstable. For the United States, the communist victory in China and the outbreak of war in Korea in June 1950 altered perceptions of the communist threat in East Asia. As Nagai Yonosuke has put it, these events paved the way for the 'globalisation and militarisation of containment'.[135] Japanese intellectuals tried to link ideas of nation to peace and democracy, subjectivity and universalism. This attempt to re-make the nation was a reflection of the international Cold War, the desire to exorcise the wartime state, and the reforms of the Occupation. As intellectuals looked to mould a future Japanese nationalism around the goals of peace and democracy, the difficulty in pinning down both the historical basis and the nature of the Japanese nation was unavoidably shaped by the objective historical circumstances within which the Occupation came to an end.

For Japan in the early 1950s, ideas of nation were complicated by the fact that nationalism and internationalism were often seen as indistinguishable. In this context, at the end of the Occupation in the early 1950s many politicians, journalists, commentators and intellectuals saw ideas of nation as a major focal point for subjective and collective identification. The 1957 *Asahi* article gave a brief explanation of the problems of defining the concept of nationalism as those problems were discussed at a conference held in Kyoto in 1953. In line with the dominant Marxist debates of the time, the participants were mainly interested in the problem of the 'nationalism of the everyday life of the masses', or 'proletarian nationalism'. One side of the debate defined this type of nationalism as pursuing the interests of the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) of one's own country, whilst respecting the interests of people of other nations. But it was pointed out that if such a definition were to be considered correct, then nationalism and internationalism would have to be seen as indistinguishable. On this point all the participants at the conference agreed.[136] Ambiguity and the apparently inseparable nature of nationalism and internationalism neatly encapsulated Japan's position in the Cold War world of the early and mid-1950s. This was played out in debate and discussion in the popular media over issues much more closely related to the everyday lives of the Japanese people, an important aspect overlooked by the abstract debates of intellectuals.

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[135] Nagai Yonosuke, 'The Roots of Cold War Doctrine, the Esoteric and the Exoteric', in Yonosuke Nagai and Akira Iriye Eds. *The Origins of the Cold War in Asia*, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1977), pp. 15-16.
[136] 'Aimai na Kotoba', *Asahi Shimbun,* July 5th 1957.

Chapter 2

Feeding an Autonomous Nation

'In the past, science has conferred on those peoples who availed themselves of the newer knowledge of infectious diseases, better health and a greater average length of life. In the future, it promises to those races who will take advantage of the newer knowledge of nutrition, a larger stature, greater vigor, increased longevity, and a higher level of cultural attainment. To a measurable degree, man is now master of his own destiny, where once he was subject only to the grim hand of Fate.'

Dr James S. Maclester.[1]

As Theodore Bestor has pointed out in relation to the consumption of seafood in Japan, changes in eating habits are not only related to alterations in production, supply or distribution as a result of changes in technology. Often wider changes in the everyday lives of ordinary people, changes with little direct relationship to food culture or culinary habits, can affect ideas of regional and national cuisine.[2] The production, consumption and circulation of food — as well as the political, economic, cultural and social aspects of these — can illuminate the broader context in which people live out their everyday lives.[3] In Japan, as in the West, it was the experience of imperial expansion and war that brought food, its production, distribution and consumption largely under the control of the state and helped to popularise national notions with regard to the everyday activity of eating. These changes were accompanied by an increasingly scientific view of food and its place in domestic and international politics.

Often a type of cuisine or particular foodstuff marks a symbolic boundary between the collective self and the other. In the case of Japan, rice is usually seen to

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[1] Quoted in Frank G. Boudreau, 'Nutrition in War and Peace', *The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (July 1947), pp. 231-246.
[2] Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2004, pp. 126-176.
[3] Eric C. Rath and Stephanie Assmann Eds., *Japanese Foodways Past & Present* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), pp. 1-15.

perform this task.[4] Within Meiji period notions of civilisation and enlightenment, eating beef and adopting many of the major foods of the West were seen as a means of attaining a greater vigour, stature, and a higher level of cultural attainment for the Japanese nation. But ideas of a national cuisine, like ideas of nation, are always a modern construct. In early Meiji Japan, the process was very much a top down effort led by the state. It was also highly focused on the elite and their own self-perception as embodiments of the new ideal of a civilised lifestyle.[5] Yet, as the example of Meiji Japan clearly shows, national cuisine is also inextricably linked to the historical dynamics of any given period. Many of the elements which come to be seen as making up any nation's food culture can usually be tied to the past of a particular region, class or group within that nation. But most of the factors that drive change in a nation's diet are universal forces.[6] For this reason, it is also important to understand the development of a particular national cuisine within the context of the economic and social conditions of any given period.[7]

Much emphasis has been placed on the postwar Occupation efforts to establish the school lunch programme in Japan, and for many it was this programme which changed the eating habits of the Japanese people, mainly the younger generation born during or after the war.[8] Yet as this chapter will demonstrate, the end of the Occupation inspired debates and discussions in magazines such as *Fujin Kōron*, *Fujin Gaho*, *Fujin no Tomo* and the major newspapers demonstrating the desire of many Japanese to move away from the association of diet with the discredited prewar and

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[4] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities Through Time*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 3.
[5] Shoko Higashiyotsuyanagi, 'The History of Domestic Cookbooks in Modern Japan', in Eric C. Rath and Stephanie Assmann Eds. Japanese Foodways, pp. 129-144; M. William Steele, *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 110-133; Barak Kushner, *Slurp! A Social and Culinary History of Ramen-Japan's Favourite Noodle Soup* (Leiden: Global Oreintal, 2012), pp. 119-128.
[6]Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion Books), 2006.
2006, 175; Harada Nobuo, *Washoku to Nihon Bunka: Nihon Ryori no Shakai shi* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2005), 8-14; Vaclav Smil and Kazuhiko Kobayashi, *Japan's Dietary Transition and Its Impacts*, (Cambridge M.A: MIT Press, 2012) 71-108.
[7] Barak Kushner, 'Imperial Cuisines in Taishō Foodways', in Rath and Assmann Eds. Japanese Foodways, pp. 145-164.
[8] Suzuki Takeo, *Amerika Komugi Senryaku to Nihonjin no Shokuseikatsu*, (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2009), pp. 13-42; Christopher Aldous, 'A Dearth of Animal Protein: Reforming Nutrition in Occupied Japan (1945-1952)', in Katarznya Cwiertka Ed. *Food and War in Mid-Twentieth Century East Asia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Shinmura Hiroshi, *Shoku to Nigen Keisei: Kyōiku toshite no Gakkō Kyūshoku*, (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1983), pp. 27-31.

wartime militarism of the Japanese state. The misery of the immediate postwar food shortages also served to integrate and interrogate democratic ideas of national strength and vitality, and at the same time, commentators began to question the cultural basis of certain types of food, in particular the central place of rice in the Japanese diet.

While the prewar militarisation of nutrition saw the nation's diet as one element of national and military mobilisation — the militarisation of nutrition, as Katrzyna Cwiertka has termed it[9] — in the postwar period the sustenance provided by the national diet, as well as the nature of that diet, became tied to a vision of an autonomous country. The Occupation emphasis on democracy and demilitarisation, which formed the basis of the political and social structure of the postwar Japanese state, strongly influenced postwar ideas of food, diet and nutrition. The ideas of nation put forward in the debates in the popular media imagined a nation of free individuals working towards the strengthening of the nation in the international arena. This link between economic and everyday cultural concerns was facilitated by the fact that throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, the international debate over the role of nutrition and dietetics became ever more closely tied to a discourse of modernisation and helped foster strong ties between economic and ideological goals.

This chapter examines how the debates and discussions of politicians, commentators and journalists in the popular media at a particular moment in postwar Japan broadened ideas of nation in discussion of food and nutrition along lines dictated by the deepening tension in the international arena and the particular postwar circumstances of the country. The end of colonial imports of rice and other important foodstuffs necessitated different ways of thinking about diet for the Japanese people. With the colonies lost, domestic agricultural production still below prewar levels and the Cold War standoff becoming increasingly more serious, Japan was heavily reliant on food imports, mainly from the USA.[10] In the popular media politicians, journalists and commentators made the connection between food as the philosophical and physical sustenance of the nation, and linked it explicitly to the country's domestic conditions and international standing. The ideas that informed this link, however, developed out of the policies and concerns of the Allied Occupation and US plans for Cold War East Asia. As much as the new school programme imposed by the

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[9] Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine.
[10] Takafusa Nakamura, *The Postwar Japanese Economy its Development and Structure* (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1981), p. 60, pp. 262-263.

Occupation authorities sought to 'raise social awareness and cultivate a sense of individual responsibility'[11] as a means of instilling democratic habits in the Japanese people, the debate over diet and nutrition tapped in to similar ideas.

Reforms clearly linked the nutritional value of the food consumed by the Japanese to the vitality of the nation. Crawford Sams, head of the Occupation's Health and Welfare Section, led the fight to bring an improved diet to the Japanese people. The introduction into the Japanese diet of more animal protein was seen as one element of the Occupation's emphasis on democratisation. The provision of school lunches was not just a practical response to the dire problems of malnutrition amongst Japanese children, it was also intended to elicit the trust and respect of the Japanese people for Occupation reforms. Powdered skimmed milk achieved a nutritional purpose, yet it was also a 'powerful weapon in the Cold War, recommending the US as a natural ally of Japan'.[12]

Ensuring an adequate and nutritionally beneficial diet was considered an important element of the foundations of economic reconstruction in the immediate postwar world. In Japan, this brought ideas of nation and economic reconstruction together in the discourse over food and culture. As Michael Schneider has shown, during the 1920s and 1930s the place of rice in the Japanese diet initiated a debate over cultural rule in Korea, which ultimately helped to address the more openly economic motives of policies in that colony.[13] As the Allied Occupation came to an end in 1952 politicians, commentators, journalists and intellectuals directly linked ideas of individual and national independence through the national problems of food, nutrition and the availability of rice to wider economic concerns. As with the intellectual debate over Cultural Rule, examination of these discussions shows that they reflected the specific economic and political context of the time. Yet they were also a means of disavowing that context in favour of cultural explanations, or conversely challenging cultural explanations in light of the domestic conditions of Japan in the early 1950s. Japanese politicians and commentators sought to imagine a

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[11] Takemae, The Allied Occupation, p. 363.
[12] Christopher Aldous and Akihito Suzuki, *Reforming Public Health in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952: Alien Prescriptions?* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 134, pp. 131-139; Aldous, 'A Dearth of Animal Protein'.
[13] Michael Schneider, 'The Limits of Cultural Rule: Internationalism and Identity in Japanese Responses to Korean Rice', in Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson Eds, *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, (Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 97-127.

strong and independent nation reflected in the nutritional value of its diet and the improvement of its standards of living, but Japan's lowly economic position in the international arena was also seen as preventing any improvements to the Japanese diet.

The first section of this chapter will outline the historical development of the discourse on nutrition and diet and its connection to postwar reconstruction. The second section will set out the postwar context within which the debate over food and nutrition developed in the popular media. Economic necessity in the early 1950s was particularly relevant in continuing the wartime move away from consumption of rice as the foremost staple food, and this led to the questioning of the apparently cultural (traditional) over-reliance on white rice in the diet of the Japanese people (*shokuseikatsu*). These factors lead into the third section, which shows how the debate over relaxing government controls over rice emphasised Cold War ideals of free market capitalism. The debate used rice as a means to connect the Japanese people as a free people (*dokuritsu kokumin*) to wider concerns over Japan's economic development in the Cold War. Finally the chapter will examine how discussion of nutrition and diet in the popular media came to reflect the economic and strategic realities of the early 1950s. Politicians, journalists and commentators evinced ideas of a strong and healthy nation through discussion of the health and physique of the Japanese people, and such debates often disavowed the economic basis for the low stature of both the country and its people through the seemingly passive and impartial science of nutrition.

Food and Power

In Britain, the industrial revolution and the growth of city slums had made the poverty of the diet consumed by the vast majority of factory workers directly visible. Yet when the Quaker philanthropist Seebohm Rowntree reported at the beginning of the 20th Century that most adults and children in York existed on not much more than white bread with tea, he was met by an apathetic response. Rowntree's first report was published in 1899, yet it was not until over a decade later, as the First World War began in Europe, that the claim by the head of the British Army Medical Service that no less than 40% of volunteers had to be rejected on medical grounds sparked the

government into action.[14] The First World War in Europe and the beginning of imperialist expansion in Japan saw an emerging focus on the necessity of feeding and maintaining a military capable of fighting. The poverty of the industrial revolution was glaringly evident, spurring discussions regarding social policy in nineteenth-century Britain and Japan.[15] Like Rowntree in Britain, Kagawa Toyohiko raised the problem of an inadequate diet in his attempts to outline the experience of modern mass poverty in Taishō Japan.[16] Yet it was through attempts at improving the appalling physical condition of the military conscript that diet and food became an essential part of the government's wider social modernisation programme in both countries.

In Japan, the Imperial Government Institution for Nutrition was set up in 1920 in response to the rice riots of 1918. Throughout the following decade nutritional advice came to feature regularly in cookery books and women's magazines and gradually became increasingly dominant in the printed media. It was also an important element in the push to improve lifestyles in prewar Japan, with middle-class women's groups taking the knowledge into rural areas.[17] The Military Diet Research Committee, set up in 1921, carried out research into the nutritional values of fish and meat, and played a large role in helping to create dishes with a high-calorie and high-protein content. Ultimately, this research helped create cheap and nutritious meals for serving conscripts.[18] At the same time, this practical application of nutritional advice to national goals led to 'an array of measures that resulted in the proliferation of the military model of efficient nourishment among the civilian population'.[19] Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, nutritional knowledge was rapidly transformed from a scientific domain of specialists into practical advice for the people. While the military played a role in placing rice at the centre of the Japanese diet, by offering the prospect of rice three times a day to attract recruits from rural areas,[20] this was also true for factory

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[14] Walter Gratzer, *Terrors of the Table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-15.
[15] Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 43-51.
[16] Barshay, The Social Sciences, pp. 51-52.
[17] Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, pp. 56-86; Partner, 'Taming the Wilderness'
[18] Katarzyna Cwiertka, 'Popularising a wartime diet in wartime and postwar Japan', *Asian Anthropology*, 1:1, 2002, pp 1-30.
[19] Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, pp. 56-86.
[20] Ibid, pp.115-137.

owners seeking to employ rural women by peddling luxuries which were not available in agricultural villages.[21]

In Japan, for Kataryzna Cwiertka, unlike 'the ideological aspects of wartime life, which were persistently erased by the occupying forces after 1945, the knowledge and skills of a healthy diet disseminated in wartime were perpetuated undisturbed despite the fall of the regime'.[22] Yet this view disregards the ideological aspects of the science of nutrition itself, and the ways in which the development of the science in the 1920s, 1930s and postwar was linked to economic concerns and the wider international situation.[23] It was the late nineteenth century discovery of the calorific value of the consumption of different types of food that allowed the emergence of a statistical and more scientific approach to the topic. At the same time, in postwar Japan discussion of nutrition and national diet were perpetuated to serve different ends. The wartime Japanese state looked to nutritionists to create a 'national food' (*kokuminshoku*), which would show Japan as a strong imperial power on the international stage, and distinguish the home islands from the empire.[24] The centrality of rice to the diet was a reflection of the power over and control of rice-producing areas in East and South-East Asia. Postwar, new ideas and new ways of thinking about Japanese national cuisine were no less tied to a dominant ideological discourse, which reflected the altered balance of power in the region and its changing economic priorities. This discourse operated within the language of the Cold War, and in the context of the United States' plans for Japan in the region as the Occupation came to an end. Where the prewar bureaucrats had seen diet as an important weapon for gaining support on the home front, the Occupation authorities, as Christopher Aldous and Akihito Suzuki have shown, saw tackling the problems of Japanese nutrition as intrinsic to the success of their policies of democratisation and demilitarisation.[25] The science could be harnessed for both ideological and economic ends.

Wilbur Atman's 1896 experiments with a calorimeter — a machine designed to measure the combustive efficiency of explosives and engines — helped render the consumption of food into hard figures. The statistical results produced by locking

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[21] Ohnuki-Tierney, Rice as Self, p. 39.
[22] Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, p. 119.
[23] Ruth Jachertz and Alexander Nūtzenadel, 'Coping With Hunger? Visions of a Global Food System, 1930-1960', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 6, Issue 01, March 2011, pp. 101-105.
[24] Kushner, Slurp! A Social and Culinary History, p. 181.
[25] Aldous and Suzuki, Reforming Public Health, pp. 118-131.

students in the machine and measuring the movement of heat, matter and air as they consumed various food types and performed different physical and mental exertions had political ramifications. The discovery of 'how far a man ought to ride a bicycle on one egg' helped to produce tables that assigned calorie counts to specific foods and tasks. But, as Nick Cullather points out, 'the calorie has never been a neutral, objective measure of the contents of a dinner plate. From the first its purpose was to render food, and the eating habits of populations, politically legible.'[26] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, states came to use food as a political instrument of control over their own populations and, importantly, to match diet with agricultural production.

The new science allowed comparisons between classes and between nations. By losing its subjective, cultural character, food could play a part in 'an evolving developmental discourse that registered the requirements and aspirations of nations largely in numerical terms'. It could become 'a material instrument of statecraft'.[27] For the United States in the 1920s and 30s, what emerged was the belief that food consumption could be comparable between nations and time periods, and that the state had a duty to ensure a balance in the supply of food and the dietary needs of the nation.[28] Scientific rationality could be subordinated to economic realities, and ideological goals could be harnessed to the rationalisation of everyday life. By the 1930s, the task of improving diet and emphasising nutrition was linked to the production and supply of foodstuffs on an international scale. In Japan this was manifested by the development of the idea of *Kokuminshoku* as Korean rice provided the means for more and more Japanese people to place rice at the centre of their everyday diet. Wider economic goals thus became entwined with the science of nutrition and the provision and utilisation of surplus agricultural production.

In the 1930s, in response to the rise of political extremism and economic stagnation in the world economy, the League of Nations launched the World Food Movement and related the supply of food and good nutrition to much wider economic benefits. As Frank Boudreau explained in the late 1940s, the movement was 'designed to release the economic jam by emphasizing that adequate diets were

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[26] Nick Cullather, 'The Foreign Policy of the Calorie', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 2 (Apr, 2007), pp. 337-364.
[27] Ibid, pp.338-339.
[28] Ibid, p.342.

essential to human health, and that in supplying the raw materials for such diets, agriculture throughout the world would rise from its depression and in rising carry with it the industries needed to supply farm machinery, fertilizers, housing, roads, marketing equipment, and other essentials for agricultural rehabilitation'.[29] With the end of the war in 1945, Atwater's calorimeter could translate 'the vernacular customs of food into the numerical language of empire'.[30] The Recommended Dietary Allowance (RDA) developed for the United States armed forces and civilians during the war soon became an international reference system for dietary standards and was used for calculating food relief for the overseas population.[31] With the arrival of American-led Occupation forces in Japan, the perpetuation of the knowledge and skills of a healthy diet would be tied to the economic and ideological goals of the developing Cold War. Just as in wartime the development of nutrition and dietetics had been tied to the economic concerns of Empire,[32] after 1945 the development of a national cuisine in Japan would be dictated by the economic priorities of United States plans and strategic aims for the revival and reintegration of the country.

The postwar international food order developed as part of the larger economic and political arrangements of the postwar period within which ideas of nation in Japan were discussed and debated. As the postwar order took shape and the Cold War deepened, US grain surpluses became a resource in international relations. In this context, efforts to find customers for the large surpluses of American grain became entwined with attempts to solve complex political and military problems abroad.[33] One way to secure the allegiance of strategically important countries 'was to provide economic assistance, including, and especially, food aid. The rationale of prominent political leaders was that countries receiving US aid were more likely to be US allies'. Food for war and food for peace became the order of the day.[34] The GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) programme provided $400 million in

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[29] Boudreau, 'Nutrition in War and Peace', pp. 231-246.
[30] Cullather, 'The Foreign Policy of the Calorie', p. 345.
[31] Jachertz and Nützenadel, 'Coping with Hunger?' p. 104.
[32] Schneider, 'The Limits of Cultural Rule', pp. 99-127; Katarzyna Cwiertka, *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth Century Korea*, (London: Reaktion, 2012).
[33] Harriet Friedmann, 'The Political Economy of Food: The Rise and Fall of the Postwar International Food Order', *American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 88, Supplement: Marxist Inquiries: Studies of Labor, Class, and States*, (1982), pp. 248-286.
[34] D. John Shaw, *World Food Security: A History Since 1945*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan), 2007, p. 49.

annual assistance to Japan to buy foodstuffs, clothing, medical supplies, fertilizer and petroleum.[35] In Japan between 1945 and 1952, 60% of economic aid received from GARIOA and EROA (Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas) came in the form of wheat and rice imports to feed the Japanese people.[36]

By the end of the occupation in 1952, fear of communism and fear of hunger, poverty and despair in Japan led the chief negotiator of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, John Foster Dulles, to emphasise the fact that if 'world trade becomes so divided into restraining compartments that raw materials do not flow, that you have widespread unemployment and undernourishment in Japan, the Japanese will go communist.'[37] United States food aid to Japan grew and was extended on the basis of such fears, which also echoed the worries of Crawford Sams during the Occupation as he tried to come to terms with the perceived necessity of changing the Japanese diet. Indeed, Sams explicitly linked US domestic farm surpluses to the aims of Cold War policy because in his opinion it had become the responsibility of the US 'whether we like it or not to assume a position of world leadership. So long as our own great country is a farm surplus producing country…we should consider as long-term foreign aid for peoples of underdeveloped nations that we are trying to keep on our side those programs for our mutual benefit.'[38] The impact on ideas of nation in Japan can be seen in the contours of the discussion and debate around national diet as the Occupation came to an end. Trade with China was boycotted by the US and its allies, Korea was still at war and Taiwan was in no position to offer food for export. The former colonial masters found their food supply intimately connected to the shifting Cold War concerns of the United States.

In this context, while the wartime diet emphasised the centrality of rice to Japanese national cuisine and introduced new dishes, the chronic shortage of rice in the postwar period led not only to its diminishing quantitative importance and the gradually increasing consumption of bread and noodles, but also to a preponderance

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[35]Takemae, The Allied Occupation, p. 79; Jerome B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949), p. 498.
[36] Harada, Washoku to Nihon Bunka, p. 201.
[37] Quoted in Sayuri Shimizu, Creating People of Plenty, 2001, p. 14. See also Bruce Johnston, 'Japan: The Race Between Food and Population', *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (May, 1949), pp. 276-292; Kushner, Slurp! A Social and Culinary History, pp. 195-197.
[38] Crawford F. Sams, *"Medic": The Mission of an American Military Doctor in Occupied Japan and War-torn Korea*, (London: M.E Sharpe, 1998), p. 66.

of meat and fish side-dishes.[39] As Shinmura Hiroshi has argued, the political, social and economic effects of Japan's position 'under the umbrella of American food supplies' were evident in debates and discussions over the nature of postwar school meals. Although the assumption that school meals could effect a transformation in the morals and patriotic feelings of Japanese children was clearly one facet of the prewar and wartime ideas of *kokuminshoku,*[40] the difference in the early 1950s was in the types of food available. If the diet of the Japanese people changed as a result of the growth of empire, the postwar shift reflected the cheap supply of American wheat and flour and the developing Cold War.

During the Occupation, as Michael Schaller has noted, American food aid to Japan, which took care of surplus production in the US, actually prevented Japan's participation in the market for Southeast Asian food produce, particularly rice.[41] By the late 1940s, the importance of Japan for surplus US wheat production was becoming clear. As early as 1947, Oregon wheat producers had lobbied for an independent commission which would allow growers to pool their resources to carry out assessments of the situation in Japan 'for the purposes of education, promotion and research'.[42] In the prewar period, global US exports of wheat and flour amounted to a mere six million bushels annually, yet by 1948-1949, as Cold War concerns deepened, the amount stood at 104 million bushels. The conclusion of the international wheat agreement in 1949 served to price the United States out of much of the market for wheat. Yet Japan remained outside the agreement and, as the Far East Grain Mission report of 1950 pointed out, was supplied with wheat 'largely on the basis of funds appropriated by the United States'.[43] The United States Grain Advisory Committee, operating under the Research and Marketing Act, sent the Far East Grain Mission to study market potential for US wheat in the region. In its report,

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[39] Kushner, Slurp! A Social and Culinary History, pp. 189-214; Harada, Washoku to Nihon Bunka, pp. 204-208; Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, p. 137; George Solt, 'Ramen and US Occupation Policy', in Rath and Assmann Eds. Japanese Foodways, pp. 186-200.
[40] Shinmura, Shoku to Nigen Keisei, pp. 28-32.
[41] Michael Schaller, *Altered States: The United States and Japan Since the Occupation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 102.
[42] *The History of US Exports of Wheat to Japan*, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, GAIN Report, June 2009, p. 6.
[43] Henry A. Baehr, Edward J. Bell, and Archie M. Camp, Market Potentialities for Wheat and Wheat Flour in the Far East, United States Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agriculture Report Volume 501950; C. D. Harbury, 'An Experiment in Commodity Control: The International Wheat Agreement 1949-1953', *Oxford Economic Papers*, New Series, Vol. 6 No. 1 (Feb. 1954), pp. 82-97.

the mission was clear about the potential Japan and other countries of the region presented to the US market. The mission concluded that the 'wheat requirements of Japan and India alone could provide satisfactory outlets for the entire surplus wheat of the Pacific Northwest'.[44]

At the same time, the International Wheat Agreement also kept the price of rice higher than that of wheat in the market more generally.[45] Japan gradually became an important importer of grains other than rice. So much so that by the end of the 1950s the country accounted for 5% of the world total for grain imports and 8% for wheat.[46] As one US congressman put in 1964, 'the American sponsorship of Japanese schools meals had made Japanese children like milk and bread and made Japan the largest customer for American agricultural products'.[47] But the results were more than simply economic. The science of dietetics and nutrition transformed the ways in which commentators discussed the issue of food. The early stages of US wheat promotion in Japan began with a 'soft sell' phase 'where market development projects were mainly directed toward educating consumers to improve their nutrition and general health through increased consumption of wheat products'.[48] The science of dietetics may have presented itself as neutral and passive, but in the popular media as the Occupation came to an end it nevertheless reinforced the discourse put forward by the Occupation authorities regarding the inadequacies and inefficiencies of the Japanese diet. This worked to ensure that Cold War economic realities were reflected in ideas of nation and national cuisine.

That this was a cultural concern was not lost on commentators, journalists or politicians. The consumption of different grains had a massive impact on the Japanese diet as wheat based dishes gradually became more common.[49] The debate in the media at the end of the Occupation helped lay the discursive groundwork for much of this shift. The idea that the Japanese people needed to vary their diet more in order to become physically stronger was connected to the economic necessity of rebuilding the country. It would be necessary to work together to improve the diet and lifestyle of the nation, whilst in the context of the Cold War, encouraging a belief in and desire

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[44]Baehr, Bell, and Camp, Market Potentialities for Wheat and Wheat Flour in the Far East.
[45] Ibid, p. 6.
[46] Freidmann, 'The Political Economy of Food', p. 265.
[47] Shinmura, Shoku to Ningen Keisei, p. 29.
[48] USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, The History of US Exports of Wheat to Japan, p. 6.
[49] Kushner, Slurp! A Social and Culinary History, p. 199.

for individual autonomy. A social approach to the apparently neutral science of nutrition offered a means to integrate the everyday cultural aspects of the Japanese diet into the very real Cold War concerns of the early 1950s and the economic development of the Free World. The intensity of the debate in the popular media reflected both the domestic experience of the immediate postwar and the instability of the international situation.

Feeding the Nation

During the early years of the US led Occupation that followed the Japanese surrender in 1945, shortages and problems in the collection and distribution of staple foods ensured that, in the words of one historian, the Supreme Command for Allied Powers' (SCAP) 'economic policy for Japan was its food policy'. Food took up approximately 70% of a family's budget, and factories found it hard to maintain their workforces as workers took time off due to physical weakness, or simply to sell goods on the black market.[50] More than 15% of civil servants took time off to search for food and the metropolitan police in Tokyo even went as far as providing staff with 'food holidays' on a monthly basis.[51] After the surrender in the summer of 1945, the price of rice and other foodstuffs had soared as the dissolution of Japan's empire meant importing was no longer a cheap and easy option. In the 1930s, 31% of Japan's rice came from the colonies and much of the domestic food and industrial production had been destroyed in the war. On top of this, the 1945 harvest was the worst since 1910 and only 40% of the expected yield was taken. Just feeding those lucky enough to have survived the war was a huge task, and hunger and scarcity defined everyday life.[52]

Up to the mid-1930s the percentage of rice in the Japanese diet had been around 70%.[53] But by 1945, the supply of rice had reached near starvation levels at 80kg per capita per year, and barley and potatoes had become a common, though increasingly rare staple food.[54] As SCAP reported to former US President and

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[50] Steven J. Fuchs. 'Food Policy, Land Reform, and Japan's Economic Recovery,' Caprio and Sugita Eds. Democracy in Occupied Japan, pp. 27.
[51] John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (London: Allen Lane, 1999), p. 96.
[52] Ibid, pp. 87-104.
[53] Hiromitsu Kaneda, 'Changes in Food Consumption Patterns in Japan', in Ohkawa, Johnston, Kaneda Eds. *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 409-410.
[54] Smil and Kobayashi, Japan's Dietary Transition, p.16; Dower, Embracing Defeat, p. 91.

Chairman of the Famine Emergency Committee Herbert Hoover in a summary of the situation in 1946, the magnitude of the food deficit in Japan was 'unprecedented in Japanese history'. SCAP predicted that without food imports the urban population of Japan would be reduced to an average consumption level below 700 calories per day.[55] Indeed by May 1946 people living in Tokyo received only 775 calories from the official ration, and Hoover's own conclusions in May 1946 predicted conditions 'much like those at Buchenwald and Belsen concentration camps if imports were not forthcoming'.[56] Famine also threatened the stability of occupied West Germany as the people there were surviving on 1,200 calories a day and US Army officials warned that without additional food they would lose 'the great struggle…to prevent [Germany] going communistic'.[57] Harbouring the same fears for Japan, Occupation policy focused on rebuilding agriculture and concentrating the collection and distribution of food, but for the most part SCAP's efforts in the first two years were attempts to prevent mass starvation. As John Dower points out, until 1949 the majority of Japanese were preoccupied with obtaining the bare necessities for daily subsistence.[58]

The provision of a subsistence food supply adequate enough to keep mass starvation at bay fitted well in the early years of the Occupation with the policy of democratisation and demilitarisation. There was little desire to help the former enemy, and the Occupation authorities treated food shortages as a matter of low priority. This policy changed drastically by mid-1947, however, and American food imports became the most basic component of US attempts to reindustrialise the Japanese and West German economies.[59] In the aftermath of 1945, food shortages were a worldwide phenomenon not restricted to Japan, but by 1949, spurred by the surprisingly rapid recovery of European agriculture, world food production had at last moved into surplus. As a consequence, the amount of food Japan could import increased. This allowed the government to begin to relax food controls. Potatoes,

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[55] 'Report of Japan's Food Situation For Herbert Hoover', 6th May 1946, *Political Reorientation of Japan: September 1945 to Septmeber 1948, Report of Government Section*, Appendix F14, p. 749.
[56] Fuchs, 'Food Policy', pp. 30-33.
[57] Melvyn P. Leffler, 'The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* Vol. 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 75.
[58] Dower, Embracing Defeat, pp. 89-97.
[59] Solt, 'Ramen and US Occupation Policy', pp. 191-194.

sweet potatoes and wheat were all de-rationed in September of 1949. Prime Minister of the time Yoshida Shigeru claimed this policy marked the end of the postwar food crisis and connected it to the government aim of promoting economic recovery through free competition. As Takemae Eiji points out, by 1949 the nutritional value of food rations finally reached the level necessary to sustain a healthy life.[60] Yet for the most part the cities remained worse off than the countryside.

Economist Yoshikawa Hiroshi has portrayed 1950 as the end of postwar disruption and the beginning of the high growth period. In 1950, before the beginning of the export boom created by the start of hostilities on the Korean peninsula, around 50% of the population lived and worked in agricultural industries in farming villages. By the last years of the Occupation, most households in these farming areas were 'living a traditional lifestyle in a society which was 50% self-sufficient'. [61] Japanese cities were by no means self-sufficient for food requirements though, and the thriving black markets made this clear to anybody who walked around them. By 1949, these markets were mainly selling durable goods rather than food, but homelessness and poverty were still major problems. Although most food rationing ended in the early 1950s, 'the black market for currency, imported and luxury goods, and even rice, continued on a much smaller scale into the 1960s'.[62]

On a national level in 1950, food accounted for around one third of Japan's imports. The following year this had declined to one quarter. By the end of the Occupation in 1952, domestic rice production had returned to prewar levels. However, it had failed to keep pace with population growth, and without the colonies the amount of imported rice was less than half the average of the 1930s.[63] Despite the increase in production in the early 1950s and the availability of imported rice in the 1930s, white rice had for a long time been considered a luxury item and, in an era of wartime shortages, eating brown rice was stressed as the antidote to many health

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[60] Takemae, The Allied Occupation, p. 79.
[61] Yoshikawa Hiroshi, *Kōdo Seichō: Nihon o Kaeta 6000Nichi*, (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1997), pp. 29-33.
[62] Owen Griffiths, 'Need, Greed and protest in Japan's Black Market, 1938-1949.' *Journal of Social History*, Vol 35. No. 4 (Summer 2002), pp. 849-850. Griffiths claims that in October 1945 there had been as many as 45,000 open air stalls employing some 80,000 people in Tokyo alone.
[63] Jerome B. Cohen, *Economic Problems of Free Japan*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1952), pp. 8-18. See table 7 for the figures.

problems.[64] Indeed by the end of 1939, the government banned the consumption of polished white rice and the people were urged to use unpolished rice and mix it with other grains.[65] As John Dower has noted, as early as 1946, with rice rations disappearing 'it was announced that the "era of flour" has arrived', and bread-making became essential to survival.[66] The postwar food crisis and the rationing of staple foods in wartime gave impetus to the debate over nutrition and the national diet.

Food control measures during the US-led Occupation were mostly an extension of wartime policies established by the Japanese government. From the middle of 1937, staple foods gradually came under greater government control.[67] The 1938 National General Mobilisation Law gave the Japanese state unprecedented power over people and resources, and by 1942 the central government had taken comprehensive control over the collection and distribution of staple foodstuffs.[68] In the same year food rationing, which had been established in the six largest Japanese cities in April 1941, was extended across the nation.[69] From the end of 1945, the collection of quotas was the 'area of most direct and intensive occupation participation'; preventing the hoarding of rice and its infiltration onto the black market was a priority for the authorities.[70] The problems of the distribution and supply of rice remained precarious until the early 1950s. Still, by the beginning of 1952 the Japanese government was hoping to remove restrictions on the sale of rice under the banner of free market economics, and this issue became closely tied with ideas of nation as the Occupation ended.

Despite government efforts to increase the output of domestic rice and other staple foods through a five year plan announced in 1952,[71] the proclamation of the end of 'a deep attachment to rice' in the subtitle of a New Year interview with politician Ikeda Hayato in the *Asahi Shimbun* hinted at the difficulties involved. The

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[64] Ronald P. Dore, Shinohata: A Portrait of a Japanese Village, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), pp. 102-105.
[65] For example, 'Kokumin Eiyō Doko e Yuku?' *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 28th October 1939.
[66] Dower, Embracing Defeat, p. 169.
[67] Howard F. Smith, 'Food Controls in Occupied Japan', *Agricultural History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Jul. 1949), p. 221.
[68] Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, p. 117.
[69] Smith, 'Food Controls in Occupied Japan', p. 221; Harada, Washoku to Nihon Bunka, p. 200; Katarzyna Cwiertka and Miho Yasuhara, 'Beyond Hunger: Grocery Shopping, Cooking and Eating in 1940s Japan', in Eric C. Rath and Stephanie Assmann Eds. pp. 169-170.
[70] Smith, 'Food Controls in Occupied Japan', p. 222.
[71] Cohen, Economic Problems of Free Japan, pp. 8-15. The plan was a scaled down version of an 'ambitious ten year plan' to increase the output of brown rice by 39 million koku by 1960.

article gave out a call to action to provide cheaper rice but also to find alternative sources of nutrition for the population. Acknowledging that the end of the Japanese Empire meant that it was no longer possible to import large amounts of rice, the *Asahi* article also recognised that there was 'a limit to self-sufficiency'.[72] Addressing questions of food and nutrition by invoking the diet of the nation allowed politicians, journalists and commentators to tie concerns over the quality of the national diet and memories of postwar and wartime scarcity to the wider national goal of independence and the economic reconstruction that independence required. This implicitly harnessed the wartime idea of national diet to the Cold War Free World ideology within which Japan would emerge as a Free Country.

A Free People (*Dokuritsu Kokumin*)

The postwar vision for the Free World saw the free flow of goods and commerce as essential. The Bretton Woods system and institutions such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank aimed to lubricate this exchange. In the immediate postwar period, the Marshall Plan, GARIO and EROA were designed to ensure that those countries which had suffered the ravages of war would have the means to rebuild their economies within an economic system, integrating prewar spheres of influence structured around the United States and free market democratic ideals. As Charles S. Maier has pointed out, the aim was to create a 'sphere of trade and exchange that posed no barrier to United States economic doctrines or ambition'. Through its policy making, Washington took on commitments between 1945 and the late 1960s, which aided the establishment of a wide-reaching zone of trade, payments and investments conducive to liberal capitalism.[73] Japan played a crucial role in this system, and in 1952 economic concerns over implementing a free market in the supply and provision of rice for the Japanese people became linked by politicians, journalists and commentators to questions of national culture through the debate over its nutritional value.

The political and ideological goal of re-introducing the free market to the supply of food was one of the stated aims of the United States Mutual Security Act of 1951. In return for aid, section 516 stated that the act would 'eliminate the barriers to,

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[72] 'Kotoshi no Kokumin Seikatsu o Kataru.' *Asahi Shimbun*, January 3rd 1952.
[73] Charles S. Maier, 'The World Economy and the Cold War in the Middle of the Twentieth Century', in *Cambridge History of the Cold War Volume 1, Origins,* pp. 45-46.

and provide the incentives for, a steadily increased participation of free private enterprise in developing the resources of foreign countries…'[74] In this context the issue of food, particularly rice as a staple food in Japan, was related in the popular media to a sense of personal responsibility and freedom of choice by politicians, journalists and commentators. With the official end of the Occupation in May 1952, this was mirrored and made explicitly national by the image of a free Japan. While some may have lamented the gradual decline in the status of rice in the diet of the Japanese people, it had to give way in the early 1950s to the domestic necessity of finding nutritious and affordable food and the international requirement to build a strong, autonomous Free World economy.

In 1954, two years after the end of the occupation, Agriculture and Fisheries minister Akagi Munenori bemoaned the decline in rice consumption and blamed it on the ship-loads of American food coming to Japan to 'stamp out revolution'.[75] From 1948 to just after the end of the Occupation in 1953, the average Japanese consumed just over 1,900 calories per day. Compared to the mid-1930s, per capita consumption of rice had declined so that between 1951 and 1955 calories from rice made up around half of the daily diet of the Japanese. In contrast, the amount of wheat in the diet had almost doubled compared to the 1930s.[76] Yet the gradual shift from rice as a staple food had begun in the wartime era and was being actively encouraged by the media in 1952. This shift was also strongly influenced by the international situation at the time. On January 6th 1952, an editorial appeared in the *Yomiuri* newspaper decrying the fact that the financial conditions of the country and the ever shifting international situation had 'pulled food prices left and right' over the past year. According to the newspaper, the quality and quantity of imported rice had been less than adequate. Worse still, the amount of rice the government would be able to import could soon be limited by what the newspaper referred to as 'the crisis in East Asia'.[77] The newspaper raised the spectre of rice decreasing from 55% of the people's diet to 50% over the year, due to what it called 'blunders' by the government. The unstable international situation was an important factor in the food choices of the Japanese people in the early 1950s, but it served to reinforce the emphasis on Japan's place in the Free World.

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[74] Mutual Security Act of 1951. Title V, Section 516.
[75] Quoted in Kushner, Slurp! A Social and Culinary History, p. 199.
[76] Kaneda, 'Changes in Food Consumption Patterns in Japan', pp. 415-425.
[77] '1952: Watashitachi no Seikatsu wa?' *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 6th 1952.

The August 1952 edition of the magazine *Fujin no Tomo* carried a Problem of the Month article entitled 'Has the Food Problem Been Solved?' According to Kawano Shigeto, a Tokyo University Professor specialising in agricultural development, there was still a food problem for Japanese housewives but it was no longer about the absolute shortage of food. Kawano explicitly linked Japan's position in the international economy to the place of rice in the diet of the Japanese people. The main complaint of Japanese housewives had changed from one of 'there is an absolute shortage so I cannot buy it' to 'it's available but I cannot buy it because it's too expensive'.[78] The increasing price of rice and the more common availability of wheat were intimately tied to the international situation. Kawano noted that even before the war a gap in consumption patterns for grains had been evident between the rural areas and the big cities. In Kawano's opinion, in the agricultural villages before the wartime restrictions on foodstuffs there had been a gradual improvement in diet as people moved from sweet potatoes to rice as a staple food. At the same time, in urban areas there was a greater consumption of more expensive yet more nutritious bread.[79]

After the war everything changed. It was understandable that the defeat had brought about a decline in consumption, but the poor state of the economy should have decreased the demand for more expensive bread. Because rice was cheaper, the demand for it should have increased. It was here that Kawano acknowledged the international environment as having a huge impact. With rice imports lost from Japan's former colonial possessions, Taiwan and Korea, rice was becoming more expensive and so the demand for it was falling, just as demand for cheaper staples such as wheat increased. According to Kawano, the decline in the overall level of consumption in Japan and the decreasing availability of rice made it a much more precious commodity.[80] Now, the government's plan to abolish controls over rice meant that the rice price, given the international situation, would be inherently unstable on the market. Although he did not explicitly mention the dominance of wheat in the food imported from the United States, Kawano did at least note that until 1950, financial support from the US was overwhelmingly responsible for funding

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[78] 'Shokuryō Mondai wa Kaiketsu Shita ka', *Fujin no tomo*, August 1952, p. 21.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid. As noted, rice imports were around half of pre-war levels although domestic production was back to the levels of the 1930s. See Cohen, Economic Problems of Free Japan, p. 15 and table seven for consumption figures.

Japan's food imports. He urged readers to bear in mind that if the international situation got any worse there could be a problem with Japanese exports. This would lead to a decline in the country's ability to pay for its food imports again and, should that happen, there could be a 'return to the hunger and starvation of the immediate postwar period'.[81]

The stability that appeared to have returned to the world stage was only temporary. Kawano correctly concluded that the problem ran much deeper than simply the abolition of controls over rice and the prices of staple foodstuffs. If the food situation appeared stable in 1952, it was down to Japan's procurement policies. If imports from foreign countries were stopped, Kawano claimed there would be enough food stockpiled for a year and then the starvation and hunger of the immediate postwar period would return. For him, that was the 'real power of and the reality behind' the so-called stability of the food situation in Japan. In such a context, being self-sufficient was the best form of national defence, and Kawano even equated it with the issue of rearmament. The relaxation of controls on wheat meant an easing of the problem and some stability, but this was 'based on nothing but a fleeting stability in the international environment within which our country finds itself,' and 'it goes beyond the simple question of the control over or the price of rice'.[82]

In this context, as the Occupation came to an end with rice becoming more expensive, it was the perceived traditional over-dependency on rice as a staple food that concerned many. In the January 1952 edition of the housewives' magazine *Fujin Kōron*, politician Ikeda Hayato attempted to disavow the wider economic and strategic causes of the decline in rice consumption. Ikeda had been Finance Minister in 1950 under Yoshida Shigeru, and would become Prime Minister in 1960 advocating the income-doubling plan. While working in the Finance Ministry for about a month in late 1952, Ikeda made a series of comments regarding the economic difficulties faced by small business and the poor. Particularly notable was his assertion that 'in the transition from an inflationary to a stabilised economy, it cannot be helped if some businessmen…go bankrupt and are forced to commit suicide'.[83] He was eventually forced to resign in December 1952. Significantly, *Fujin Kōron*

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[81] 'Shokuryō Mondai wa Kaiketsu Shita ka', p. 23.
[82] Ibid, pp. 22-23.
[83] 'Ikeda said it again', *Asahi Graph*, December 17th 1952.

introduced Ikeda as a former finance minister, although his most important role at the time had been in negotiating the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the concomitant Mutual Security Agreement with its emphasis on free markets. This became the US-Japan Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in 1954, which further deepened economic links between the two countries and caused Akagi Munenori to bemoan the ubiquity of US wheat.

In the magazine interview, Ikeda argued that the government was doing its best to ease any shortages of rice by increasing imports to keep the price down. But he acknowledged that the cost and availability of rice, particularly in the cities, continued to be a major problem. The implementation of free market policies was essential to tackling shortages. Ikeda saw this as the best method of overcoming the problems of consumption, distribution and most importantly quality. It would also take care of the existence of the black market. He assured his interviewer, journalist Hiramura Taiko, that government controls over the distribution of rice would definitely be eased over the coming year and explicitly linked the issue to the end of the Occupation. In Ikeda's view, there was a need for an autonomous Japanese people. Japan would need to take responsibility on the world stage as a free country (*dokuritsu koku*) and, in the same way, the Japanese people needed to establish a free national lifestyle (*dokuritsu kokumin seikatsu*). But Hiramura was concerned that the end of government controls over rice would not improve quality or availability. She was concerned that relaxing economic controls over the market in rice could result in an even more uneven distribution of food.

As noted above, the cities were dependent on the countryside for their food provisions and under a free market for rice; Hiramura was concerned that those in the countryside would be able to get hold of more rice than the people in the cities. In the immediate aftermath of the defeat, people from urban areas had regularly travelled to the countryside to barter and exchange goods for food. Both Ikeda and Hiramura agreed that this inequality in food distribution was something that needed to be avoided. Ikeda, however, did not see the policy of de-rationing as the problem. He pointed to the quite significant inequalities that already existed under the controlled system. While in Tokyo only fifteen days' worth of rice was given out each month, in more rural Niigata the amount was 25 days' worth. On the black market this resulted in a price differential of eighty yen. Somebody was pocketing the profit. Ikeda was adamant that, 'in the situation where we are about to become a free people (*dokuritsu*

kokumin) I do not want this inequality as a precondition (*zentei toshite*) of our independence'. He emphasised the fact that the 'present law is criminalising most of the Japanese people'. After all, 'is there anyone in the cities who has not sold rice on the black market?'[84] For Hiramura, that sounded like surrender to disorder — 'because there is some disorder now, let's make everything disordered!' She found it timely to remind the politicians that those at the bottom of society could not even afford to buy their rationed amount of rice. So even though the government had raised the amount of rice it had procured, and according to Ikeda would easily be able to solve any problems of distribution, many people would be unable to afford to eat it anyway. For Hiramura, it was hard to see how the release of controls over rice would help.

Nevertheless, Ikeda was convinced that free market economics was the best way forward and that the problem could be solved by better procurement and improved distribution. In his opinion, if the government were able to provide enough imported rice the price would not increase too much. If it did increase, the government would do all it could to make it cheaper. As Laura Hein has shown, leading economists pushed ideas of democracy through individual economic responsibility, seeing 'household economics as one of the important ways in which democracy and peace could be safeguarded'.[85] The most important thing for Ikeda was to promote individual choice. If the price of rice increased and wheat became cheaper, he believed people could 'think and economise for themselves', and decide what was best to eat.[86] Food was what the people required, and promotion of the free market would provide this, but at the same time, the promotion of individual responsibility was essential.

To strengthen his argument for the workings of the free market, Ikeda attacked those who had criticised the de-rationing of fish and vegetables. He pointed out that the result of the relaxation of controls over those foods had been 'an improvement in their quality and quantity through the free market'. In much the same way, Ikeda claimed, the de-rationing of rice would push farmers to produce better quality, more nutritious rice, and simple market economics would mean that 'if good rice is

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[84] 'Kotoshi no Seikatsu wa Dō Naru Ka'*, Fujin Kōron*, January 1952, pp. 126-131.
[85] Laura Hein, *Reasonable Men Powerful Words: Political Culture and Expertise in Twentieth Century Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 164.
[86] 'Kotoshi no Seikatsu wa Dō Naru Ka', pp. 127-128.

expensive and bad rice is cheap it is economical behaviour for farmers to produce more good rice'. Hiramura wasn't too convinced though, and the exchange continued:

> **Hiramura:** That maybe the case for the producers but, as for the consumers, given the present impoverished conditions, rich people will be able to afford to eat domestically produced rice, while the poor will have to take foreign imported rice along with wheat, roots and shoots.
>
> **Ikeda:** That is natural. I think that is the basis of economics. If politics ignores that it will not be good politics.
>
> **Hiramura:** If that happens through a natural laissez-faire policy is it not the job of politics to put a stop to it?[87]

For Ikeda and the government, the hope was that with improved distribution the free market would promote the quality and availability of rice.

Yet, despite this professed belief in the rationality of the people in the face of a free market, there was an irrational cultural attachment to rice, which Ikeda believed the people needed to overcome. The Japanese people were too reliant on rice in their diet, and this was a big problem. In response to Hiramura's concerns over equality and the free market, he admitted that for him the biggest challenge was to change the pattern of the Japanese diet. Rice was essential, but Ikeda stressed the importance of side dishes. Using the analogy of rail travel, he admitted that if people only ate rice free market reforms would lead to the rich travelling first class while the poor would be stuck in third class. It was his intention as a politician to see to it that everybody was able to travel in first class, and providing foods other than rice was an important step towards this goal. Moreover, Ikeda explicitly linked a change in the eating habits of the Japanese people to the improvement of the national economy. All the efforts of the government and the people had to be focused on the international stage to increase and develop the country's exports:

> Our priority is to make this country an independent trading nation. To this end, whether we like it or not, I predict we need to change the pattern of our eating lifestyle (diet). Through this, Japanese people will be gradually released from a reliance on rice, bringing bread into the

[87] Ibid, pp. 127-128.

> diet, and in this way, at the same time as increasing the number of calories consumed, we will improve the physique of the people.[88]

Mention of the physique of the Japanese people was an indication of a broader discourse within the newspapers and magazines, but these comments also pointed to deeper problems facing the country. While soba noodles, bread and butter and the sweet potato offered the means to survive relatively cheaply, the availability and accessibility of food gradually became profoundly linked to the economic position of postwar Japan, both domestically and internationally. The government felt that food issues could be solved through the introduction of a free market, accompanied by a change in the eating habits of the Japanese people. But Ikeda also broadened this out and related it directly to the future economic development of an autonomous country. The people needed to become independent, responsible for themselves and their household budgets, just as Japan needed to take its place on the international stage. The need for a change in the eating habits of the Japanese people was not simply a political response to temporary problems with the availability of rice, or the need to combat black market racketeering. It was closely linked to the idea of a 'free Japan' and linked the wartime discussions of national cuisine directly to the Cold War concerns of the Japanese state. At the same time, food and good diet were put forward as the key to economic growth by providing a strong workforce. By necessity this challenged the idea of rice as a central aspect of Japanese culture and ideas of nation. The science of nutrition and the convenience of international comparisons reinforced the importance of a healthy diet to the image of Japan as a free country and the need for the rational individual to decide what was best within the economic constraints of their own everyday life.

Nutrition (Kokumin Eiyō)

In 1952, Japanese cinemagoers flocked to see *Bitter Rice,* a 1949 Italian film starring Silvana Mangano. The film, which was nominated for an Academy Award for best story in 1950, follows workers in the rice fields of the Po Valley in the North of Italy after the war. Two small-time thieves, Francesca and Walter, befriend Silvana, a peasant rice worker. Francesca persuades Silvana to find her work in the rice fields, which with the help of the other workers she does. Silvana eventually falls in love

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[88] Ibid, p 128.

with the crook Walter, who persuades her to help him steal rice from the storehouses during the festival following the end of the growing season. After helping Walter, Silvana is overcome with guilt, and a deep sense of her betrayal of the other women workers. This guilt leads her to take her own life as recompense. The film closes with the women who work in the fields taking the rice they have received and one by one covering her body, before walking away from the rice fields and returning to their home towns.

The film was a great success in Europe and made a star of the lead actress Silvana Mangano, who brought more than just her acting ability to brighten the lives of audiences of the time. On its release in Japan in 1952, it also caught the popular imagination. According to a review of the film in the *Asahi Shimbun*, the 'overpowering fleshiness' of the actress in the eponymous role of Silvana (Silvana Mangano) could be taken in two ways. While she 'sparkles with feminine beauty' she was also a daydreamer, who nevertheless 'bursting with flesh' 'efficiently goes about the demanding work of the rice fields'.[89] According to the review, the film could be appreciated in Japan on a deeper level than simply entertainment. Being set in a 'rice producing area' the film, which in the words of the reviewer 'does not turn away from [addressing] the times,' would be easily understood by Japanese people.

Critic Hazumi Tsuneo, in the magazine *Fujin Gahō*, also claimed it would appeal to anybody who watched it.[90] On one level the film's reviews and the images of its leading lady — usually standing knee deep in a rice paddy wearing a tight sweater, tight shorts and torn tights — spoke to ideas of the ancient centrality of rice in the diet and culture of the Japanese. The reviews provide a clear example of what Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney sees as rice being a 'dominant metaphor' for the Japanese. For the reviewers, the film reinforced the role of rice as the symbolic link to land (rice paddies) and self, community and polity through consumption and ritual.[91] In a period of scarcity and insecurity, both domestic and international, *Bitter Rice* was presented as a reflection of deeply held Japanese values. Silvana was a role model, easily understood by the Japanese and readily identifiable through hard work, strength, and traditional communal values — exactly the values required of the people as the Allied Occupation came to an end. On a different level though, the film and the reviews in

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[89] 'Kitai ni Somukanu Rikisaku 'Nigai Kome,'' *Asahi Shimbun*, March 18th 1952.
[90] Hazumi Tsuneo, 'Yōshun no Gaikoku Eiga,' *Fujin Gahō*, May 1952, No 572, p. 107.
[91] Ohnuki-Tierney, Rice as Self.

the newspapers and housewives' magazines also helped to reinforce debate and discussion in the media over food and ideas of nation at a time when the place of rice in the Japanese diet was being questioned and contested.

(Fig. 1.) The 'fabulously fleshy' Silvana (centre) at work in the rice fields.

The reviews did not dwell on many aspects of the film. The dingy and Americanised Walter and Francesca are the criminals, the women in the rice fields are overworked and ill-treated but simply happy to have work, a mass brawl breaks out between the legal and illegal women workers, and Silvana's attraction to the violent Walter ends in death for both of them. Given the relatively harsh conditions, which remained a reality for many Japanese in early 1952, it is hard to imagine that many cinemagoers saw the film as a positive portrayal of agricultural work. In the final scene the women workers do not flee with their rice to return to their local towns and villages. They leave the rice and the rice fields behind them, and in one sense Silvana becomes a symbolic sacrifice to the central grip the commodity held over their lives. The film offers a powerful critique of American culture and capitalist exploitation. But the *Asahi* review appeared next to an article proclaiming the establishment of the joint US-Japanese Association for the Promotion of Japanese Health, and Silvana was not only an efficient worker in the rice fields providing sustenance for the community in times of scarcity, she was also physically attractive, healthy and robust — 'bursting

with flesh' or 'fabulously fleshy' as the *Asahi* explained. This was the role model the film presented to the Japanese viewers.

As the food supply became more problematic in wartime Japan, discussions of the nutritional value of different kinds of food and how to 'scientifically' improve the level of nutrition in the diet of the people had become increasingly evident in the media. By 1939, the government banned the consumption of white rice and urged the mixing of unpolished rice with other grains. Moreover, within the first few months of the US-led Occupation, SCAP had ordered research into the nutritional value of the diet of the people of Japan.[92] In March 1949, the Yomiuri newspaper carried an advertisement for a new publication entitled *An Introduction to National Nutrition*. The short advert explained how the new tome looked at the future of the national diet from many sides — climate, economics, tradition and customs — yet the advert promised a more scientific examination of the link between physique and diet.[93] With the end of the occupation approaching and the pressing need to imagine a Free Japan, the stature and lifestyle of the people was an important focus for the housewives' magazines and the major newspapers. Comparison with other countries became important and reinforced Ikeda's call for a change in the Japanese diet, with a move away from the overdependence on rice. As Harada Nobuo has pointed out, through the passing in 1952 of the Law for the Improvement of Nutrition, which led to national surveys to raise awareness of the importance of nutrition and to improve the physique of the Japanese people, nutritional education in postwar Japan became modelled on the western pattern.[94] Yet the implementation of this push to improve the diet of the Japanese people was by no means solely the work of the Japanese government.

As noted above, by the beginning of 1952, the amount of food available was far less of a problem than the quality of the food consumed by the people. There was no longer a threat of mass starvation and, as Ikeda insisted in *Fujin Kōron*, the government hoped to push ahead with the de-rationing of rice. But the nutritional

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[92] 'Kokumin Eiyo Chōsa: Kenkyu Dantai Sechi Shimei', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 14th 1945. For example, 'Kokumin Eiyō Doko e Yuku?' *Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 28th 1939 in response to the imposition of restriction on white rice, 'Kokumin Eiyō no Taisaku e no Kanshin', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 31st 1942; 'Haikyu Gome to Eiyō', *Asahi Shimbun*, February 18th 1941, 'Seikatsu Kagaku Mondō: Kokumin Eiyō no Maki', *Asahi Shimbun*, April 15th 1941. See also, Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, pp. 115-133.
[93] 'Shinkan: Kokumin Eiyō Gairon', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 3rd 1949.
[94] Harada, Washoku to Nihon Bunka, p. 204.

content of the food the people consumed remained a focus for the popular media. Hiramura Taiko had pointed out to Ikeda that even if the rationing of rice ended, many people in the cities could still not afford to buy their allocated amount of rice. Nor was it necessarily the case that white rice was the best staple food from a nutritional point of view. Within the discussion and debate over the national diet in 1952 most of the emphasis was on the need to move away from rice as a staple food. In an article entitled 'The rationalisation of eating with vitamins at the centre: the new style of cooking dietetics', Inagaki Naganori, a professor of agriculture from Ochanomizu University, reiterated that since the end of the war the Japanese diet had improved in terms of the amount of food consumed, yet the same could not be said for the quality of that diet. People were consuming enough calories for an active lifestyle, but calorific content was not the only important factor for a healthy lifestyle.[95]

Inagaki argued that people should not yearn for a prewar diet of white rice and white sugar. Such a desire ignored the fact that during the wartime the government had ordered the mixing of rice, and white rice was not eaten for much of the period. Inagaki also warned of the risk of diseases such as beri-beri and pointed out that it was not good to return to such a diet. For sociologist Shimazu Chitose, writing in the July edition of *Fujin Gahō*, as for Ikeda and other commentators, the preponderance of rice in the diet was part of the problem. Shimazu pointed out that, in 1952, a Japanese adult living in the city consumed only 1974 calories. Of this, almost 80% of their daily intake of calories came from cereals. According to Shimazu, the 1359 calories attributed to rice was an unusually high figure, and contributed to a startling lack of protein, calcium, vitamin B1 and B2 as well as vitamin C.[96] Despite the fact that the food supply was relatively stable compared to the early postwar period, many important nutritional aspects were still missing from the Japanese diet. This nutritional paucity was having a direct effect on the people because of a lack of variety.

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[95] Inagaki Naganori, 'Bitamin wo Chūshin Toshite Tabekata no Gorika', *Fujin no Tomo*, September 1952, p. 86.

[96] This is a rather high amount and Hiromitsu Kaneda puts the calorie percentage of rice in the diet in the period 1951-1953 at around 50%. The figure Shimazu provides appears to match the figure given by Kaneda for the calorific amount of rice in the Japanese diet in the 1930s. See Kaneda, 'Changes in Food Consumption Patterns in Japan', p. 417. The first government white paper on national lifestyles (*Kokumin Seikatsu Hakusho*) from 1956 gives rice as 70% of the daily amount of cereals consumed in 1951, but does not provide calorific information.

The article appeared in a special section dedicated to daily lifestyles and particularly diet. Shimazu connected the effects of a poor diet on the physique of the Japanese people to wider economic conditions. The article presented a typical Japanese family and outlined the best means of economising the household finances in order to maximise the quality of the diet. Rice was the cheapest option in terms of its calorific content, and while bread was becoming more readily available, the cost of butter, margarine and ham made it an expensive choice in the quest for a nutritious meal. The poor physique of the people was, as far as Shimazu was concerned, clearly a result of the low level of earnings of the people. 'With Japanese workers' earnings being one tenth of American workers', their food lifestyle (*shoku seikatsu*) both from the point of view of calories and nutrition, is weak. A weak dinner table makes a weak body'.[97] Problems of diet had a wider connection to national goals. If Japan were to regain international prestige and standing on the world stage, it was important for the population's diet to provide the people with the vigour, stature and cultural vitality that would reflect that. Yet the country's economic problems were at the root of the bad diet.

Writing in the same edition of *Fujin Gahō* as Shimazu, economist Ōkawa Kazushi asserted the effects of the problems of poor nutrition on culture. He argued that a lack of dairy products was bad for the development of an active, intellectual culture and pointed to the figures for milk consumption in one year: in the US 192kg, the U.K 142kg, Italy 35kg, but, in Japan, 'only a depressing 1.5kg'.[98] Figures for the amount of meat consumed and the variation in the Japanese diet also clearly showed that the standard of living of the Japanese people was not so rosy. Ōkawa claimed that the amount of meat eaten in one year was 89kg in the United States, 65kg in the United Kingdom, 22kg in Italy; 7kg in India, and while Japan's 42kg was not so bad as a percentage of all calories consumed it only made up 23% of the diet. In the US on the other hand, excluding cereals or potatoes, meat made up 68% of the calories consumed. Ōkawa went even further in linking low levels of nutrition to low levels of culture. Recalling a phrase from the old days — 'good manners begin with a full stomach' — he linked modern good manners to levels of culture and the nutritional quality of the diet. Ōkawa believed that without being able to support oneself and

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[97] Shimazu Chitose, 'Nani o Dō Tabetara Yoi ka', *Fujin Gahō*, July 1952, No 574, p. 144.
[98] Ōkawa Kazushi, 'Nihonjin no Seikatsu Suijun', *Fujin Gahō*, July 1952, No 574, p. 124.

raise children, no culture could begin. Survival and therefore nutrition were essential to enjoy life.[99]

Ōkawa's fears echoed those of a joint Japanese-American body set up to investigate such problems. In March 1952, an article in the *Asahi Shimbun* reported on the setting up of the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Health. On March 16th around sixty people gathered in Tokyo to discuss the nutritional make-up of the Japanese diet. According to the *Asahi*, this 'international' group of researchers and specialists in diet and nutrition had been brought together in Tokyo to tackle the problems with the nutritional content of the Japanese diet. The association was two years in the planning and was a cooperative venture between Japan and the United States. With the association at the centre of a 1 million yen per month budget, it was hoped that researchers would find ways of putting into practice ideas to improve the nutritional value of the food available to the Japanese people. The aim was to discover 'how to cheaply and efficiently supply many households with nutritious, balanced food products'. Arimoto Kunitarō, an expert in Japanese dietetics who had been appointed director of the Nutrition Division in the Ministry of Health and Welfare in November 1946,[100] outlined his view of the problems affecting the Japanese diet. He pointed out that although household expenditure on food had increased, the average calorie intake of Japanese was only 1960 calories per day. The low level of calorific intake when compared to other countries did not look good against the 3000 calories per day consumed by people in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. It was worse still given that people in Italy, the Soviet Union and Pakistan could boast 2500 calories per day. While the intake of calories had increased year on year, it was the nutritional vacuity of these calories that concerned Arimoto and the newly established association.[101]

The overreliance on rice and the unscientific custom of mixing it with whatever was at hand was the main cause of the nutritional deficiencies according to Arimoto. Professor S.L. Denning from the University of California pointed out that while the European and American diets relied on grains and sweet potato for one third to one half of food intake, in Japan the fraction was closer to four fifths. The health

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Cwiertka, Modern Japanese Cuisine, pp. 135-136.
[101] 'Umareru Nihon Kenkō Kyōkai: Hikui Kokumin Eiyō Kaizen ni.' *Asahi Shimbun*, March 18th 1952.

and welfare ministry had already spent time and money on finding new ways of adding nutrients to rice. According to the newspaper, the overdependence on poor quality rice was one of the association's major concerns.[102] The Association for the Promotion of Japanese Health followed on from efforts by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, along with researchers into nutrition, who had recently put into action a plan to come up with ways of providing more healthy fare. The association was aware of the link between levels of income and the poor nutritional content of the Japanese diet. Yet, as the *Asahi* article pointed out, although ideas of bringing more fish and meat into the diet had already been put forward it was becoming hard to ignore problems with the low content of fat, calcium and other important vitamins and minerals making up a Japanese diet still mainly based on vegetables. Doubling of the intake of animal protein had been suggested, as had the idea of using fish to increase the intake of animal fat, an issue that had also concerned the Occupation authorities in the late 1940s.[103]

The *Asahi Shimbun* concluded however, that 'the reliance on rice in Japanese food production and the custom of making do with what is at hand' (leading to the mixing of rice with roots and shoots) was the main reason for the poor state of the nation's diet. The article claimed that four fifths of food production in Japan was given over to vegetables. This resulted in a bias in the diet of the people, the results of which had become evident in their physique.[104] According to the article, a new and more nutritious variety of white rice was being developed, which would be low in cost and contain more vitamins than the usual mix of rice, roots and shoots. It could be cooked in the same way as normal rice, was apparently better tasting and good for digestion. Once brought into production, this rice would enable Japanese households to increase their intake of those vitamins and minerals missing from their everyday diet without unduly increasing expenditure. Fiscal prudence and good nutrition were important for Japan as the end of the occupation approached. As far as the new rice was concerned, '[f]or a country such as ours which … exists on rice, this [the development of the new rice] is good news'.[105]

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Aldous and Suzuki, Reforming Public Health in Occupied Japan, pp. 131-139.
[104] 'Umareru Nihon Kenkō Kyōkai: Hikui Kokumin Eiyō Kaizen ni.' *Asahi Shimbun*, March 18th 1952
[105] Ibid.

The low nutritional content of the Japanese diet and the physique of the people were linked, and for most commentators it was a backward looking Japanese culture that prevented progress. As it welcomed attempts to develop new varieties of more nutritious rice, the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Health nevertheless criticised the unscientific custom of mixing rice with other foods such as wheat or shoots to give the feeling of a full stomach. This was one of the causes of the bad Japanese diet and if it continued it would soon become a serious problem for 'the health and physique of the people'.[106] The *Asahi* articles, Shimazu's discussion of the poor nutritional value of the Japanese diet, Ōkawa's comparisons and Ikeda's statement about substituting bread for rice as a means of improving the diet of the Japanese people all addressed issues of economic growth. At the same time, they spoke to ideas of nation, culture and what constituted Japanese food. The dependence on rice in the national diet was explained by the relative cheapness, in monetary terms, of the calories taken from it.

This was particularly relevant when compared to the consumption of bread and butter. Yet all the commentators spoke of the necessity of increasing the earnings of the people to allow them to afford bread and other dishes. Shimazu believed that if bread were cheaper or more accessible, 'it would probably easily replace rice'. She believed that 'Japanese people's deep attachment to rice can be seen as coming simply from the need for calories'. Rice supplied calories more cheaply than bread because the foods needed to make bread taste better — butter, ham or cheese — were still expensive.[107] Likewise Hiramura Taiko, in her interview with Ikeda in *Fujin Kōron*, did not see any deep cultural attachment to rice. Hiramura conceded Ikeda's point about changing Japanese lifestyle patterns, but she insisted that dependence on rice was not a problem of traditional culture. It stemmed from the fact that the Japanese people's living standards were so low.[108]

Emphasis on the daily foodways (*Shoku Seikatsu*) of the people was part of a wider movement, which further stressed the need to integrate Japanese lifestyles into an economic discourse that focussed on the need for personal autonomy in the pursuit of economic growth. A desire to move beyond the militaristic associations of wartime in the presentation of national diet and national lifestyle stressed the freedom of the

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[106] 'Ibid.
[107] 'Nani o Dō Tabetara Yoi ka', *Fujin Gahō*, July 1952, No 574, p. 142.
[108] 'Kotoshi no Seikatsu wa Dō Naru ka', *Fujin Kōron*, January 1952, pp. 126-131.

individual within the framework of Japan as a free nation. This was a reflection of a dominant Free World ideology, which saw national, cultural and individual autonomy within a Free World capitalist block as the best defence against the threat of communism. So whether looking for more nutritious home-grown rice varieties or seeking to vary the Japanese diet, the proclamation of 'the end of a deep attachment to rice' in the subtitle of a New Year interview with Ikeda Hayato in the *Asahi* newspaper was followed by a call to action from the Japanese government and the establishment of the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Health.

There was a need not only to provide cheaper rice but also to find alternative sources of nutrition for the population. In 1952, the worst of the postwar food crisis was well behind Japan. The government hoped to push on with economic reforms to create a free market in rice, and the diet of the people was considered an important element in the foundations of economic reconstruction. By taking responsibility for their own nutritional needs, the Japanese people could help in the rebuilding of the country. Throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, the international debate on the role of nutrition and dietetics became increasingly tied to a discourse of modernisation and strongly linked economic goals to ideological goals. The overwhelming economic superiority of the United States by the late 1940s meant that those ideological goals reflected the Cold War aim of opening overseas markets to American goods, and the abundance of cheap wheat and wheat flour helped drive the debate over the place of rice in the Japanese diet. The availability of cheap rice form the colonies during the imperial 1920s and 1930s had made the idea of rice as a staple food part of the national identity of the Japanese people, as more and more people were able to eat rice. The harsh realities of wartime when those imports were becoming scarce helped challenge that idea.

The postwar period saw the discussion and debate over the Japanese diet move to accommodate the new and different economic realities of the Cold War. Throughout the early 1950s, the possibility of staple foods other than rice filled the discourse on diet and nutrition. Ideas for increasing the number of side dishes accompanying rice, thus reducing reliance on it for nutritional requirements, also became the focus of many housewife magazines during the early and mid-1950s. The prevalence of discussion on nutrition in the Japanese newspapers and magazines focused attention on the everyday lives of the Japanese people. What they ate and how they budgeted for family meals was one aspect of the rationalisation of everyday

life, which linked pre- and postwar ideas of nation. The discussions also reveal the tension between the economic necessity of moving away from a preponderance of rice in the diet, or at least the ideal of rice as the staple food of the Japanese, to one that incorporated more varied dishes and replaced rice with wheat-based foods. These discussions were a reflection of the economic and political context within which the United States led Occupation was coming to an end and a means of disavowing that context in favour of cultural explanations for Japan's position within it.

The apparently dispassionate, modern, scientific outlook of nutrition and dietetics served to rationalise the economic basis for shifting ideas of nation and national cuisine. 1952 provided an historical moment when the idea of the cultural centrality of rice to the Japanese diet (and thus to ideas of nation) was being challenged discursively, politically and economically. As the Japanese economy improved, the mid-1950s brought the beginning of high-speed economic growth and stable and cheap imports of rice from Thailand and South East Asia more generally. With increasing wealth, rice could again return to the Japanese table as the traditional staple food, albeit one which in reality continued to decline in importance. As the economic situation improved, national, individual and gradually cultural autonomy became even more connected to the realm of everyday life. The contradictions of Japan's Cold War position became more apparent.

Chapter 3

Defending the Nation

'(At work) everybody has become interested in the ANPO problem. Before we mostly talked about clothes and make-up now it's all about June 15th and Kishi. Everybody hates Kishi.'

Ōkawa Michiko (Department store worker).[1]

Cold War Alliance

At the end of 1951, the Mutual Security Treaty and the San Francisco Peace Treaty solved a problem the US authorities had been pondering for some time: the Truman administration was divided between those wanting to continue the Occupation in order to keep the military bases and those who feared an increase in anti-American sentiment the longer the Occupation lasted.[2] Nevertheless, once signed, the treaties appeared largely one-sided. The Security Treaty did not outline a commitment on the part of the United States to defend Japan against any external threat, but the US did reserve the right to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances caused by external influence or agitation. Moreover, the additional extra-territoriality for US military personnel agreed in February 1952 clearly evoked the unequal Meiji period treaties.[3] Possibly because the most contentious aspects of the security treaty were not made public until February 1952, the details did not arouse national opposition. Indeed, opinion polls found most Japanese supported the Security Treaty in 1952.[4]

In this context, the emergence of a united opposition and the coming together at the national level of local anti-base movements in 1960 to protest the treaty's renewal suggest a change in the perceived nature of the relationship between the two countries during the 1950s. On one level, the international situation made the treaty

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[1] 'Heiwa no Naka de Utaitai: Wakai Hitotachi no Koe naki Koe', *Shūkan Heibon*, June 29th 1960, p. 26.
[2] Tanaka Akihiko, *20 Seiki no Nippon: Anzen Hoshyō-Sengo 50nen no Mosaku*, 1997, pp. 42-43.
[3] Takemae Eiji, 2002, *The Allied Occupation*, pp. 505-506.
[4] Packard, Protest in Tokyo, pp. 12-14.

appear increasingly unnecessary, but economically ANPO raised important issues that were reflected in debate and discussion in the popular media. By the time the treaty came up for renewal in 1960, the concerns were not simply issues of state and international power politics. Images of the United States and Japan were far more complex and ambiguous within the everyday lives of the Japanese. Of course, the Cold War power politics of the early 1950s still fed much of the discourse concerning the nature of the Peace Treaty and the Security Treaty. In the rhetoric of many members of the opposition movements, the trope of US imperialism remained important. Certainly, the events known as the 'ANPO Struggle' provided an outlet for the worries of liberal intellectuals regarding the domestic re-emergence of a powerful state headed by a former class A war criminal. Many intellectuals and protesters sought to protect the US-imposed postwar constitution. Nevertheless, the fundamentally political issue driving ANPO, that of the relationship between the US and Japan, was already in the process of being depoliticised by the advent of consumer-driven and consumption-focused economics. As Yoshimi Shunya has argued, through the 1950s, as the presence of US forces in Japan diminished, the concept of America changed from one of overbearing patriarchal military power to a benign consumer paradise.[5] Even as the protesters filled the streets around the Diet building, the popular media increasingly portrayed consumer America as a model that could be emulated.

This was an apparently depoliticised vision of America. But it was in part the shift in the mid-1950s from production-centred economics to a consumption-focused plan for economic growth which made the ANPO Treaty all the more necessary, because of the promises of market liberalisation it brought with it. In the growing popular media, consumption was only occasionally connected to the US-Japan alliance. Yet thanks to the growth of the mass media, consumer culture already formed the backdrop to the lives of many Japanese by 1960. The appointment of Ikeda Hayato as Prime Minister in the summer of 1960 and the announcement of the 'income-doubling plan' provide a convenient historical moment from which to chart the Japanese people's movement away from overt political action in favour of the good life and a more individual, everyday connection to the political. But as this

[5] Yoshimi Shunya, 'Reisen Taisei to Amerika no shōhi: Tashū Bunka ni Okeru [Sengo] no Chiseigaku', in *Kindai Nihon no Bunkashi 9, Reisen Tasisei to Shihon no Bunka 1955 Nen Igo*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 2002, pp. 31-54.

chapter shows, from the late 1950s the public celebration of consumerism in the growing popular media juxtaposed the political America of the Security Treaty to America as a lifestyle choice. This was particularly appealing to the large numbers of young people moving to the city in search of work. Moreover, consumerism and nation were already linked through the media debate and discussion. In their rejection of politics after the failure of the ANPO protests, the Japanese people found an idea of nation ever more closely linked to the ideals of a consumer society; something that had gradually developed over the late 1950s as a political response to the Cold War.

Domestically since the early 1950s there had been a growth of nearly 200% in the sectors that employed low-waged women workers. Many of them were young, single and living away from home, and this created social concerns as well as a new and increasingly prosperous market for consumer goods.[6] Connected to this was the growth of mass weekly and monthly magazines concerned with entertainment and leisure over the course of the 1950s which transformed the aspirations and horizons of these young Japanese people.[7] In the 1950s and 60s, such magazines also dealt with political topics, juxtaposing consumer lifestyles with the concerns of the Cold War. For the huge numbers of young people leaving the countryside to work and live in the cities, the vision of consumer life offered an escape from the overcrowded and still poor living conditions in which they found themselves.[8] Diversion through mass entertainment offered an escape from the realities of everyday life whilst shifting the boundaries of consumer-oriented ideas of nation. Nevertheless, this transformation of daily life in the popular media reflected the political and economic concerns of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

From the last days of the Pacific War, social and economic factors fuelled American concerns about the spread of communism in Japan and East Asia. In that context, during the 1950s, the ideology of production-centred economics, which

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[6] Christopher Gerteis, *Gender Struggles: Wage-Earning Women and Male-Dominated Unions in Postwar Japan*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge M.A, 2009, p. 187; Simon Partner, Assembled in Japan, pp. 193-224. The nature of the worry/threat of this social group for many commentators will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. By the time of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, young, single, working-class women were the object through which the more middle-class media could critique the influx of all things foreign at the time of the games. This critique would merge with a negative view of the enthusiasm with which the country had adopted a consumer culture imported from the US. At the time of ANPO the images of consumption in the media were still very much a 'dream lifestyle' for most Japanese workers.

[7] Marilyn Ivy, 'Formations of Mass Culture', pp. 247.

[8] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *[Heibon] no Jidai*, pp. 4-12.

helped to fuel growth after the Korean War, spurred the ideology of consumption. This further connected the economic goals of the Japanese state to the ways of living of the Japanese people. Through the debates and discussions in the mass media it also offered a way for young Japanese to identify with the US and Japan. By July 1960, with Kishi gone and the new Prime Minister espousing income doubling and the separation of politics from economics, the *Mainichi Graph* was reporting on the boom in boat ownership in Japan and newspapers and magazines touted the benefits of extra leisure time. Yet throughout the 1950s, wages improved for many workers and this brought stability to the lives of many Japanese. The increasing availability and visibility of household appliances, particularly in advertising targeted at housewives, gradually softened the image of the violent America of the Occupation.[9] Economic stability and the promotion of a mass consumer society based on the consumption levels of American lifestyles also helped to direct anger at the renewal of the Security Treaty towards the Kishi cabinet and its anti-democratic, forced ratification in place of any vehement anti-Americanism.[10]

This chapter outlines the ways in which the goal of a consumer lifestyle was juxtaposed in the popular media with anger and protest at the political system. Rather than seeing the failure of the 'ANPO struggle' as the beginning of the focus on consumption and the separation by the state of politics and economics, this chapter examines how discussion of the idea of the consumer as king in the popular media reflected broader changes in ideas of nation. The first section notes how Japanese economic thinking reflected Cold War ideology throughout the 1950s, and championed consumer society as the best defence against communism as well as the best means of achieving national economic development. In this context, some commentators in the popular media touted the importance of the Security Treaty to the economy. The second section shows how the idea of a consumer culture offered an image of a future Japan. But in 1960, the postwar national ideals of peace and democracy were often carried in magazines, which existed because of, and were driven by, the promotion of consumer society. The tensions in the relationship

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[9] Helen Macnaughtan, 'Building up Steam as Consumers: Women, Rice Cookers, and the Consumption of Everyday Household Goods in Japan', in Penelope Francks and Janet Hunter, Eds. The Historical Consumer, pp. 79-104.
[10] Jung Bock Lee, *The Political Character of the Japanese Press*, (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1985), p. 126.

between economic growth since the mid-1950s under the nuclear umbrella of American protection, and the postwar idea of the democratic, peaceful nation were clearly evident.

Finally, the chapter will examine the ways in which coverage of the apparent thaw in the Cold War marked by the Soviet leader's visit to the US in late 1959 seemed to make the Security Treaty redundant. In this context, the national ideal of peace was being undermined by the actions of the Japanese state. Yet the popular media did not take an overtly anti-US stance and, through the actions of the Kishi government, the ANPO issue soon became tied to the protection of postwar democracy. The treaty symbolised a subordinate client-state relationship between Japan and its former occupier, a relationship in which the ideals of peace and democracy were threatened in the eyes of many intellectuals by US self-interest and the authoritarian nature of the Japanese state. The presence of US bases on Japanese soil and their extra-territoriality reinforced this view. At the same time, the economic and international context of the late 1950s worked against the Japanese and US governments' claims that the treaty was necessary for Japan's security. The apparent détente in the Cold War after Khrushchev's visit to the US underlined the rapidly changing nature of the international situation. Ultimately, the increasing prospects brought by economic growth allowed debate and discussion in the popular media to emphasise ideas of nation which appeared to relate more concretely to the everyday lives of the people. Throughout the late 1950s, the nation of Peace and Democracy could gradually become the nation of Peace and Prosperity. In this way, the public celebration of consumerism in the popular media helped deflect attention from the political to the realm of everyday lived experience.

Consuming the Cold War

Back in the 1920s and 1930s, the process of rationalisation in industrial production brought calls for the modernisation of material life. At the same time, economic recovery and a growth in the strength of the popular media reinforced calls for increased consumer demand to help with economic growth. The aim was to build a strong national people's economy. As Andrew Gordon has argued, the promotion of middle-class lifestyles and consumption as an essential element of economic

development had transwar origins.[11] As with the debate over diet and nutrition, 1930s discourse linked middle-class consumption to the increasing rationalisation and militarisation of everyday life in the context of imperial expansion and war. As Yoshimi Shunya has noted, the promotion of better standards of living through the increasing use of household appliances (*Seikatsu Kaizen Undō*) was one of the most significant movements of the 1910s and 1920s. The acquisition of these appliances was taken as a means for achieving rationalisation in household activities. As the Life Improvement Union stressed, 'by removing all waste from the home, taking away all ornaments, introducing more rationalisation, we must promote efficiency in the activity of the nation, and contribute to the growth of the national fortune.'[12] Images of an American lifestyle that was centred on consumption stimulated people's desires in the immediate postwar period as it had in the 1920s and 1930s, yet the consistent image of electric appliances in the home, evident in the late 1950s, did not appear before the war. Moreover, the new and more effective image of domestic electric appliances that appeared from the mid-1950s 'was not positioned as an extension of the life improvement movement in the prewar period'.[13]

The prewar and wartime discourse on consumption had an important place from the immediate postwar period until the mid-1950s, but this gradually gave way to new ideas and discourses shaped by the more immediate concerns of economic growth and Cold War politics. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the dominance of the black market turned domestic consumption into a political issue. Consumption was about balancing the identities of consumer, producer, citizen (*shimin*), and national (*kokumin*).[14] As was made clear in the media discussion of diet and nutrition outlined in the previous chapter, the acts of buying and consuming goods were inseparable from the blunt necessities of staying alive. In this context, during the Occupation, housewives' groups were prominent in their protests for improved rationing and against the ever-increasing prices of daily necessities.[15] In the early 1950s, consumption continued to be an essential aspect of family life. Gradually, through

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[11] Andrew Gordon, 'Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class', pp. 8-9.
[12] Shunya Yoshimi, '"Made in Japan": The Cultural Politics of "Home Electrification" in Postwar Japan', in Richter and Schad-Seifert Eds. *Cultural Studies and Japan*, p. 107.
[13] Ibid. p. 108.
[14] Patricia Maclachlan, *Consumer Politics in Postwar Japan*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 78-83.
[15] Sheldon Garon, *Moulding Japanese Minds The State in Everyday Life*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

advertising and the popular media, it became a necessary part of the role of the Japanese housewife.[16] Through the trope of food and nutrition, articles in magazines such as *Fujin Kōron*, *Fujin Gahō* or *Fujin no Tomo* made the connection between the home, the difficult domestic social and economic situation facing the country and the wider international environment. Indeed, such magazines continued to carry articles discussing the rising cost of living and the economic situation. But in the 1950s, the debate over consumption gradually came to reflect the Cold War, the question of democracy, peace and Japan's importance in the promotion of free world values. By the late 1950s, the consumer was emerging in the popular media as the dominant aspirational identity for housewives and for young single Japanese with disposable income. Popular magazines presented a lifestyle which opened up new possibilities to a new generation of Japanese. This made clear a shift in the boundaries of, and between, consumerism and ideas of nation. By 1960, increasing affluence and a burgeoning popular media began to merge consumerism with ideas of nation, and Cold War concerns helped to bring about this change.

The Korean War made plain the precariousness of Japan's food supply, yet it also provided a critical boost to the economy and helped to cement Japan's position as the pivot of America's defence strategy in Asia. The textile, construction, chemical, metal, communications and automotive industries benefited enormously from war procurements. As Michael Schaller puts it, Japan became 'one huge supply depot' serving US aims on the Korean peninsula.[17] The war took on the role of 'Japan's Marshall Plan' and at the same time established the boundaries of containment in Northeast Asia.[18] In the opinion of the Japanese Prime Minister of the time, Yoshida Shigeru, the war completely transformed the Occupation's approach to Japan and the situation in the Far East, and spurred the growth of Japanese production over the next decade.[19] Nevertheless, Japanese politicians and economists along with US Cold War strategists needed to find ways of perpetuating economic growth after the wartime boom. The boost provided by the Korean War had required increased raw materials, equipment and consumer goods to keep pace with the country's expanding industry

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[16] Macnaughtan, 'Building up Steam', pp. 79-104; Partner, Assembled in Japan.
[17] Schaller, Altered States, p. 49.
[18] Bruce Cummings, 'Japan in the World System', in Gordon Ed. Postwar Japan as History, pp. 50-51.
[19] Shigeru Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs: The Story of Japan in Crisis,* (London: Heinmann, 1961), p. 163, p. 282.

and consumption demands. But for numerous reasons, the focus on heavy industry proved problematic by the mid-1950s when the surge in demand dropped off. 'A program was needed which would systematically attack the basic problem of low productivity and high costs throughout Japanese industry'.[20] With less need for armaments and heavy industrial goods, new methods of production, along with ways and means of stimulating domestic demand, were becoming necessary.

These were identified and developed under the guidance of the Japan Productivity Centre, established with American assistance in 1955. The first such group had been set up in Britain in 1948 with the assistance of Marshall Aid.[21] The economic theory behind the JPC was closely tied to American Cold War ideology. Its original aim was to increase labour and management productivity, a goal that would bring about the expansion of markets, help to increase employment and raise wages as well as standards of living.[22] The ideas behind the program began to circulate in Japan towards the end of the Occupation in the late 1940s. Taylorist ideas of rationalisation, developed and expanded in the 1920s and 1930s in Japan, were put to work to enhance productive efficiency and transcend class conflicts that could arise from scarcity. In the impoverished conditions of early Cold War Europe, the United States promoted the purportedly apolitical solution of productivity to combat communism by shifting the focus of the dialectic from class versus class to one of waste and abundance. The productivity movement eventually came to be seen as a way of defeating Communism whilst promoting the American way of life. The Ministry of Trade and Industry had proposed a Japan Productivity Centre as early as 1951, but in 1953 US officials offered to promote the program in Japan. In the same year, the Dōyūkai Director Gōshi Kōhei, later to become the third chairman of the JPC, visited Europe and confessed to being very impressed by the ideological success of the programme.[23]

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[20] *The Productivity Program in Japan: A Program of Technical Cooperation Between Japan and the United States*, Japan Productivity Center/ The United States Operations Mission to Japan, 1960, pp. 2-3.
[21] Shinozaki Takao, 'Shohi wa Bitoku no Keizai Shisō', in Oikawa Yoshinobu Ed. *Tokyo Orinpiku no Shakai Keizaishi*, (Tokyo: Nikkei Hyōronsha, 2009), p. 79.
[22] Andrew Gordon, *The Wages of Affluence, Labor and Management in Postwar Japan*, (Cambridge M.A, Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 45-57.
[23] William M. Tsutsui, *Manufacturing Ideology: Scientific Management in Twentieth Century Japan*, (Princeton: University Press, 1998), pp. 134-136.

Increased efficiency in the production of goods and services as well as improved technology and methods of organisation and operation would strengthen the Japanese economy and raise the living standards of the Japanese people.[24] Promoting the belief that the goal of rapid growth in gross national product was tied to improvements in productivity, the United States had by the time of the JPC's inauguration already welcomed tours by some 16,000 European managers, technicians and labour leaders paid for by the Foreign Operations Administration. US aid had also financed a large series of reports on American productivity in Japan and Europe, and the efforts came to incorporate CIA personnel in the US embassy in Tokyo as well as front organisations such as the Asia Foundation.[25] The three guiding principles of the JPC were: expansion of employment, cooperation between labour and management, and fair distribution of the fruits of productivity. The 'fruits of productivity should be distributed fairly among labour, management, and consumers in line with the state of national economy.'[26] By the late 1950s, the consumer needed to be seen to be receiving those fruits, whilst simultaneously becoming vital to the continuation of growth in productivity. This dual role was perpetuated through the celebration of consumption in the popular media.

Between 1956 and 1966, the JPC sent more than six hundred inspection groups to the United States, in which more than six thousand people took part. The groups were made up of small business representatives, academics, labour leaders, technical specialists and business leaders who studied various aspects of American manufacturing methods. Whilst these groups did study and import industrial technical skills and know-how to Japan, in the late 1950s marketing techniques were by far the most important productivity tool the technical group personnel brought back. Japanese managers came to see marketing as an essential technology, 'offering a solution to a problem that had plagued Japan throughout its modern history: how to find domestic outlets for the nation's growing industrial capacity'.[27] Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, the strength and wealth of the mass market came to be seen as best fuelled by the spending power of the consumer. This consumption would

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[24] The Productivity Programme in Japan, p. 5.
[25] Partner, Assembled in Japan, p. 124; Gordon, The Wages of Affluence, p. 49.
[26] Japan Productivity Center, 'Three Guiding Prinicples 1955', http://www.jpc-net.jp/eng/mission/principle.html accessed 20/09/13.
[27] Partner, Assembled in Japan, pp. 121-136.

create a virtuous circle spurring production, which would in turn fuel people's desire to consume more. As the agro-economist Tobata Seiichi put it: 'the masses are appearing on the economic stage, they are the agents of effective demand'.[28]

In this context, the 'bright life' emerged in the 1950s as an ideological symbol, which sought to imply 'the housewife-centred family and the dominance of the middle class'.[29] At the end of the Occupation, the liberalisation of markets in foodstuffs had been tied to ideas of democracy and individual agency in the popular media. By the late 1950s, companies such as Matsushita were promoting their electronic appliances as the 'housewives' partner' and linking the arrival of these goods in the home to democratisation — in some instances even going so far as to link the promotion of these goods to article 25 of the Japanese constitution: 'The people of Japan have the right to enjoy a healthy and cultural life'.[30] This clearly reflected the deliberate shift in the wider economic discourse from a production-led economy to the promotion of consumption as the ultimate driving force of economic growth. Yet an examination of the popular magazines of the late 1950s and early 1960s shows that it was not only the Japanese housewife or her husband who was the target of this ideology. Magazines pressed the benefits of consumption onto young, single people and promoted leisure activities that relied on the promotion of the belief in abundance and consumption as waste.

The expansion of the mass media throughout the 1950s played a central role in linking these ideas with Japanese social attitudes.[31] As Hasegawa Kenji has pointed out, the late 1950s was a time when 'the spread of popular weekly magazines and compact paperback books, the launching of electric household appliances, and the feverish spread of hula-hoops and Dakkochan dolls signalled the arrival of a "consumption revolution"'.[32] Importantly by 1960, as Yoshimi Shunya has shown, the consumer revolution had helped to produce two images of the United States: one was the powerful, patriarchal America of the Occupation, the military bases and the protests against them. The other America was a lifestyle choice for housewives or a

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[28] Tobata Seiichi quoted in Shinozaki, 'Shohi wa Bitoku', pp. 75-98.
[29] Partner, Assembled in Japan, p. 145.
[30] Yoshimi Shunya, 'Consuming America, Producing Japan', in Garon and Maclachlan Eds. The Ambivalent Consumer, p. 79.
[31] Macnaughtan, 'Building up Steam', pp. 79-104; Marilyn Ivy, 'Formations of Mass Cutlure', in Gordon Ed. Postwar Japan as History, pp. 239-259; Yoshimi, 'Consuming America', pp. 75-79.
[32] Hasegawa Kenji, 'In search of a radical new left,' *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Vol. 3 No. 1, Spring 2003.

fashion choice for young Japanese.[33] This was partly due to the decreasing American presence in the everyday life of the Japanese people. After the Occupation ended, the number of US military personnel in the country fell from 260,000 in 1952 to 46,000 by 1960.[34] At the same time, the electrification of the home and the advertising strategies of companies seeking to improve the housewives' lot reinforced the America of consumption.[35] But the debate and discussion in the popular media, particularly in magazines aimed at young people, went further than merely assisting the Japanese housewife. For the Japanese people, consumption was now presented as an individual choice rather than the necessity of the 1940s and early 1950s. Moreover, the early 1950s ideas of nation based around the tropes of peace and democracy were juxtaposed by the Security Treaty crisis with ideas that emphasised Japan as a growing economic power with unique cultural traits.

Soft Money in the Silver Sixties

'The Consumer is King', proclaimed the *Mainichi Graph* at the beginning of January 1960. The accompanying photographs presented a very different Japan from the country of food shortages and rationing that symbolised the end of the Occupation in 1952. One photograph (Figure 2) showed deliverymen hauling a new piano through the window of an apartment in a new and ultra-modern *'danchi'* building complex. 'Even the neighbours have bought one', proclaimed the caption. The focus on consumption as an economic goal and an end in itself was evident in the article. 'Pianos costing as much as ¥200,000 are being brought to the *danchi* everyday…the symbol of high class for the *danchi-zoku* is no longer the TV…because of the psychological process of the increasing competitiveness of everyday life the *danchi* are the place of powerful mass consumption'. Yet 'powerful mass consumption' was not only evident in the purchasing habits of the Japanese middle classes. Travel and tourism, if at this stage purely domestic, also epitomised the transformation of everyday life. Between 1957 and 1960 the number of hotels increased by over 10% and the number of guests by more than 30%. As evidence of the growing leisure industry, an accompanying photograph (Figure 3) showed lines of hotel owners

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[33] Yoshimi, 'Reisen Taisei to [Amerika]', pp. 46-47.
[34] Tanaka Akihiko, *20 Seiki no Nihon 2: Anzen Hoshō: Sengo 50 Nen no Mosaku*, (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1997), p. 169.
[35] Yoshimi, 'Reisen Taisei to [Amerika]', pp. 74-79.

holding placards and banners displaying the name of their hotels as they waited for customers in front of Atami train station.[36]

(Figure 2.) 'Even the neighbours have got one!' *Mainichi Graph* January 3-10 1960.

(Figure 3.) Lines of hotel owners outside Atami train station, *Mainichi Graph* January 3-10 1960.

[36]'Shōhisha wa Ōsama de Aru,' *Mainichi Graph*, January 3-10, 1960, pp. 8-9. See 'Use of Hot Springs', *Historical Statistics of Japan* Chapter 26-26, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, available at http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/26.htm last accessed December 28th 2013.

As noted above, the improving standard of living of the Japanese people from the mid-1950s was tied to the promotion of consumer lifestyles as an essential component of a successful capitalist society. The construction of the *Danchi* was one element of this. In 1954, Hatoyama Ichirō had become Prime Minister, proclaiming the goal of solving Japan's housing crisis within ten years. To this end, the Japan Housing Corporation was established the following year. This state-sponsored housing agency was given the task of building large-scale apartment complexes (*danchi*) for middle class urban families. The aim was to improve living conditions in the cities following the large influx of workers during the boom created by the Korean War. But as the photo-spread in the *Mainichi Graph* made clear, the creation of the *danchi* did more than simply provide better housing. For those middle class Japanese lucky enough to be chosen in the ballot, these newly built apartment complexes symbolised a style of everyday urbanity that became a prototype of middle class life in postwar Japan.[37] It was this overtly middle class existence that was celebrated in the article.

The promotion of a consumer lifestyle as a means of perpetuating economic growth and prosperity was intimately tied to the ideological divisions of the Cold War. In the United States, as early as 1947, the promotion of consumption to help boost the economy and provide for the well-being of the whole nation was clearly evident in magazines such as *Life*. In 1947, an article entitled 'The Price Problem' argued that 'the individual family's efforts to rise in the class ranks through consumption helped boost the economy and provide for the well-being of the nation as a whole', while other articles equated homeownership with democracy, security, and civic virtue.[38] This vision of material life was actively promoted abroad. As Lizabeth Cohen has noted, during the Cold War the idea that American consumer goods would be able to 'win the hearts and minds of the people in the so-called developing world' was combined with the understanding that the expansion of US consumables into those markets would also help American manufacturers.[39] Through the Marshall Plan, the importance of household consumption in securing peace and

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[37] Laura Nietzel, *Living Modern: Danchi Housing and Postwar Japan*, (unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2003), p. 20.
[38] Kristin L. Matthews, 'One Nation Over Coals: Cold War Nationalism and the Barbecue', *American Studies*, Vol. 50, No. ¾ Fall/Winter 2009, pp. 12-13.
[39] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, (New York: First Vintage Books, 2004), p. 127.

democracy was promoted in Europe. In 1952 for example, the Mutual Security Agency deliberately shifted the focus of the annual German Industrial Exhibition from heavy industry and consumer goods to focus the US display 'exclusively on private consumption'. As the State Department saw it, the display's content was to be developed 'in terms of arguments for a high-production, high-wage, low-unit cost, low profit-margin, high consumption system' with emphasis on the 'fortunate outcome of American economic philosophy when combined with European skills and resources'.[40] By the late 1950s, this fortunate outcome was the flipside of the mass protests against the renewal of the Security Treaty for Japan.

As Andrew Gordon has noted, observers of Japanese economic growth in the 1950s drew on 'the precocious appreciation of prewar commentators', seeing consumer demand as one engine of a national economy 'connecting manufacturers, lenders and consumers in a virtuous cycle of growth'.[41] This thinking was clearly driving the policies of the JPC but at the same time, in the late 1950s, this cycle of growth became a national goal and the popular media made explicit its connection to America and the prosperity of the Free (capitalist) World. As Laura Nietzel has put it, whether pre- or post war, 'materiality was always associated with mentality'. Throughout the 1950s, the *Danchi* became symbolic of the democratised family, in particular through the promotion of privacy in the provision of separate sleeping spaces. This connected seamlessly with the liberation of women from housework through the electrification of the kitchen.[42] Economic planners and theorists looked to redeem some ideas from the past in their quest for postwar economic recovery,[43] but the promise of increased consumption had become deeply embedded in ideas of democracy and individual freedom.

The *Mainichi Graph* article gave a '*banzai* to consumption'. Echoing the goals of the JPC, the magazine stated: 'mass leisure is becoming an element which capitalist countries, particularly America, can no longer do without to continue increasing prosperity'. In Japan at the beginning of 1960, a change in mentality was still necessary. The article explained how people were celebrating the announcement

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[40] Greg Castillo, 'Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Domestic Dreamworlds: Notions of Home in Post-1945 Europe (Apr., 2005), p. 273.
[41] Gordon, 'Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class', p. 18.
[42] Nietzel, Living Modern, pp. 4-5.
[43] O'Bryan, The Growth Idea, pp. 18-47.

of the 'earnings-doubling plan', but cautioned that this did not imply the doubling of monthly income, but rather 'it is the doubling of total GNP'. The article pointed out that even if the necessary increase in production, the required capital and the increase in imports came about, monthly income would not double. To achieve the doubling of income it would be necessary for Japanese people to 'use things freely'. Waste was essential to a consumer society. Yet even with the development of a wasteful lifestyle it was not sufficient to buy only the things which were necessary. 'To develop a prosperity which has no limits there has to be a demand which has no limits'. The problem was creating a market for this mass leisure. As the magazine noted, the symbol of the new middle classes in America was ownership of a boat and swimming pool. In Japan in 1960 it was the piano and the second-hand car. In order to bring about a transformation of consumer culture in Japan money needed freeing up. 'At the moment people consume within their monthly budget. In America, in order for a salaryman to buy a boat, the bank lends him the money'. Yet things were gradually improving in this respect. 'In Japan rent comes automatically out of the bank account, the monthly salary is paid by check…. Money is distributed without you even having to touch cash'. The ease with which money could come and go from the bank accounts of the middle classes was helping to casualise consumption. For the *Mainichi* this was the key to a consumer lifestyle. 'The consumer lifestyle has changed from the era of hard money to the era of soft money. That will continue to make consumption a casual thing'.[44]

The following pages held out the promise of things to come. Under the headline 'Lifestyle Progressivism: America — ¥14 trillion on pastimes,' the article explained how the technological revolution meant that 'the nature of work itself is

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[44] *Mainichi Graph,* January 3rd-10th 1960, pp. 10-11. The availability of consumer credit had been growing during the late 1950s, as state officials and others recognised the benefits to industry in extending credit to masses of customers. Andrew Gordon however, explains that in terms of consumer credit the years around 1960 were 'a moment of transformation that failed to happen'. In 1959, MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry) issued an administrative order restricting the ability of finance companies and department stores to offer consumer credit. See 'From Singer to Shinpan: Consumer Credit in Modern Japan', in Garon and Maclachlan Eds. The Ambivalent Consumer, p. 156. Gordon traces the advent of consumer credit through the marketing of the sewing machine by the American company Singer from the early Twentieth Century. During the war, the company became a symbol of the evils of American consumerism but returned to the Japanese market in 1952, offering instalment credit from 1954. Interestingly, even in the postwar period Singer's return to the Japanese market produced a 'firestorm of patriotic sentiment' against the American company. See *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) pp. 57-90, pp. 162-165.

changing, "free time" is continually increasing'. Yet again, as with purchasing consumer goods, waste was important. The article introduced Japanese readers to the different ways in which the American people 'wasted' this vast amount of money and time. A photo-spread showed people painting by a lake in Aspen, canoeing in Northern Minnesota, a family enjoying time in the garden and a family camping in Kentucky. The article asked 'What about our Japan?....now waste is a virtue, we exclaim with an indifferent smile, yet if this lifestyle becomes a reality by 1970, it will certainly be the Silver 60s which will have played the role in bringing it about'.[45] The image in the popular media of an America symbolising free consumption and leisure time was attractive because it held out the prospect of future prosperity for Japan, promising individual choice and freedom on a broader level.

Nevertheless, the reactions provoked by this fascination with American culture and lifestyle were not all positive. The same edition of the *Mainichi Graph* featured an article looking at the passion of young Japanese for sex, drugs and rock and roll. Living for the day, taking drugs, sporting shocking clothes and using 'interesting' language, they spent their time on the city streets taking their cue from the American Beat Generation.[46] But while the *Mainichi* tantalised its more mature readers with the virtues and dangers of a consumer-oriented youth culture, *Shūkan Heibon* portrayed a world which was opening up for young Japanese. There was an 'Oriental Boom' in the United States. The magazine told its readers 'America is Looking for Young Japanese Women'. It was said that a 'weekly wage of ¥36,000 is not a dream' in America.[47]

According to producer Matsuda Kyoko, the next two or three years would offer the perfect chance for any Japanese hoping to make it big. There is a Japan boom all over America but all eyes in Hollywood in particular are looking to Japan'. Matsuda was not only working as a producer at NBC, she was also the daughter of the then Education secretary, Matsuda Takecho, and was thus in a rather more privileged position than the majority of the magazine's readers. Nevertheless, Matsuda offered the example of Nobu Azumi, a former fashion model in Japan who had moved to

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[45] 'Seikatsu no Shinpo shugi: 14chyo en no Hima-tsubushi, Amerika', *Mainichi Graph*, January 3-10, 1960, pp. 12-15.
[46] 'Warera Kyō Ikiru', *Mainichi Graph*, January 3-10th 1960, pp. 35-39.
[47] 'Shukyū 36,000 Yen mo Yume de wa nai to iu: Amerika ha Nihon Musume wo Sagashiteru', *Shūkan Heibon*, January 20th 1960, pp. 42-45.

America after marrying a GI. Making contacts in America, she had quickly become a film star, and was rumoured 'according to newspapers and magazines over there' to be on the verge of becoming the number one Asian star in America. 'If that happened it would be amazing: 4 or 5,000 dollars a week'. To an ordinary Japanese woman this was an unbelievable amount, but as Matsuda saw it 'there are Japanese women who have those possibilities'.[48] Articles discussing life in the US were frequently published in *Shūkan Heibon* in the late 1950s and early 1960s. For the vast majority of the magazines' readership the prospect of moving to America was non-existent. Nevertheless, the imagined life the magazine offered helped to soften the image of the US as the Security Treaty came up for renewal.

In June 1960, the same magazine carried a special section entitled 'How to live alone for women'. The article showcased the new found freedom (*jiyu*) of young women, for the most part in their early twenties, who had moved to Tokyo to work. The article stressed that despite feelings of loneliness in the big cities there was a sense of freedom in apartment living, and the number of women moving to apartment buildings was increasing. Many of the women interviewed were living with siblings or older women in their 30s, but they all described the sense of safety and freedom that could be found in the numerous new apartment blocks springing up around the city, many of which were reserved for women only. As 'Yoko-san', a 27 year old designer, left her Hillman Imp in the car park and took the elevator to the seventh floor, opened the door to her apartment, washed her face, changed clothes, then crashed out on the sofa she explained 'when I come back here it's quiet so I feel at ease. This apartment

(Fig. 4.) Yoko-san in her apartment in Tokyo. *Shūkan Heibon*, June 8th 1960.

[48] Ibid, p. 42. Naoko Shibusawa discusses the way Hollywood sought to use Japanese actresses and actors to soften the American people's attitude towards the former enemy. As Shibusawa makes clear, under the Eisenhower administration this was closely linked to Cold War concerns for the economic reconstruction of Japan. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*, (Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 255-287).

matches the tempo of our lifestyle…' [49] The lifestyle changes that were gradually emerging as a result of consumption-driven economic growth presented new ways of understanding personal freedom and America. The bright life was about more than just electric appliances. In the late 1950s, for young, single Japanese moving to the cities to find work, freedom and individual subjectivity gradually became tied to consumer society. The media juxtaposed this changing everyday experience with the battle for peace and democracy that was being played out on the streets of Tokyo in 1960.

A Crisis of Indifference

At one o'clock in the afternoon on the 16th of January 1960, the Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke and his entourage fled at least seven hundred protesting students from *Zengakuren* to fly to Washington to renew the US Japan Security Treaty.[50] Almost a week later, the crowd that gathered to celebrate the return of the party were, according to one account, mainly right-wing thugs playing military marches and waving the *Hinomaru*. Clearly the departure and arrival of the Prime Minister's party was nothing if not 'a strange contrast'.[51] Yet this 'strange contrast' of violent left wing students and a revival of right wing nationalism clashed on the streets of Tokyo and in the pages of the popular press in the early summer of 1960 in the context of treaty renewal.[52] The huge protests over the renewal of the security treaty united people in their condemnation of the Kishi government but, in the context of high-speed economic growth, the close relationship between the two countries created a paradox in debate and discussion of ideas of nation in Japan.

On the evening of May 19th the Diet debated ratification of the treaty. Students, workers, and ordinary citizens surrounded the Diet compound in Tokyo giving voice to their protest against the revision of the treaty. Around 15-20,000 demonstrators had gathered outside the Diet compound by the early evening. Inside the Diet, the socialist members worked to stall the ratification while Prime Minister Kishi hoped to extend the Diet session beyond its 26th May end date. As the time allotted for the treaty's ratification was almost up, socialist Diet members staged a sit-

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[49] 'Josei Hitori Apato Gurashi wo Suru Hōhō', *Shūkan Heibon.* June 8th 1960, p. 89.
[50] 'Mukanshin no Naka no Arashi', *Mainichi Graph*, January 31st, 1960, pp. 4-7.
[51] 'Sekai no Me, Nihon no Me.' *Fujin Kōron*, March 1960.
[52] See 'Mukanshin no Naka no Arashi' and 'Okori no Supotsu', *Mainichi Graph*, January 31st 1960, pp. 8-10; 'Akahata Kokkai wo Kakomu', *Asahi Graph,* December 13th 1959.

down protest outside the speaker's office in an attempt to prevent him from reaching the rostrum in the chamber to begin the debate. Seeing no other option, at 11pm the Speaker ordered the police to enter the Diet building and forcibly remove them. The session was extended beyond midnight and the treaty was ratified in the early hours of the morning in the absence of the socialist members of the Diet.[53] Newspaper editorials quickly proclaimed the events a crisis for parliamentary democracy.[54]

By the morning of the 20th, the demonstrations increased as people came on to the streets to protest against the perceived threat to liberal democracy and Japan's independence as a nation-state.[55] The mainstream newspapers were unanimous in their condemnation of the Kishi government. For the *Asahi*, it was 'inexcusably undemocratic'. The *Yomiuri* saw it as a 'tyranny of the majority' and, though most of the press placed at least some of the blame for the events with the Japan Socialist Party, all the major newspapers agreed that the events of May 19th were 'tantamount to digging a grave of parliamentarianism in Japanese politics'.[56] In the year leading up to the renewal, the mainstream newspapers had printed more than two hundred editorials addressing the topic. For most of the rest of May and June the media supported the actions of the protesters including the illegal general strike held on the 4th June. Yet, on June 7th United States Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II held a meeting with the editors of the major newspapers to seek their cooperation in diffusing any anti-Americanism and promoting the visit of President Eisenhower that was scheduled for June 19th. Kishi did the same on June 7th, 8th and 9th.[57] Whether these meetings had a concrete effect on the media or not, from this point on the press began to become critical of the JSP and mass protests, in particular the violence of the student groups clashing with riot police.

Only a few months earlier, according to a September 1959 *Yomiuri Shimbun* survey, only 14% of respondents had been 'very interested in the current treaty revision problem'. 43% claimed to be 'not interested'. At the same time, almost half

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[53] Packard, Protest in Tokyo, pp. 221-251.
[54] Edward P. Whittemore, *The Press in Japan Today…A Case Study*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 36-37.
[55] Hidaka Rokurō, *Go-gatsu Jūkyū Nichi*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), p. 74.
[56] Lee, The Political Character, p. 144.
[57] 'Telegram From the Embassy in Japan to the Department of State', Iune 8th 1960, FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1958–1960, VOLUME XVIII, JAPAN; KOREA, DOCUMENT 172, **http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v18/d172** Last accessed 2nd October 2013.

(46%) believed the Japan-US Security Treaty was necessary, and a survey by the Prime Minister's Office published in October 1959 found 53% of people 'in favour of Japan's general cooperation with the US in the future'. As George Packard has pointed out, the fact that the polls showed little interest in the issue supports the conclusion that the events of May and June 1960 owed less to the treaty problem itself than to Kishi's handling of it.[58] For many of the protestors it was Japan's postwar democracy which needed saving in light of the forced ratification. Even before Kishi's actions, the issue of postwar democracy was a concern. The fact that negotiations were taking place had been kept secret until the end of 1959, and on January 12th 1960 an opinion piece in the *Asahi Shimbun* asserted that 'for ten years' the Japanese people had been worrying about the ANPO problem. The core of the problem lay in the fact that 'this bill, which decides the direction of Japan for the next ten years, will be pushed through without gaining the satisfaction of the people'.[59] While not anti-treaty, the comment made clear the concerns for the role of democracy in the process of ratification.

Nevertheless, the idea that the Japanese people were for the most part indifferent to the treaty appeared to be backed up by opinion polls in the press before the events of May 1960. The headline in the *Mainichi Graph* in January described the violence at Haneda airport as Kishi left for Washington as 'the storm in the midst of indifference'.[60] The problem for those who were concerned with the process was not only the domestic repercussions of 'signing the treaty without a wide-ranging democratic debate among the people'. The international situation was also greatly worrying the Japanese people. Relations between Japan and China were a pressing problem which needed to be dealt with. The *Asahi* pointed out that even within the ruling party there were 'many views on the future of China-Japan relations'. The treaty would compel Japan to stand alongside the United States in the international arena, a situation that would make the restoration of good relations with China much harder. The newspaper urged the government to keep 'as much of a free hand as possible in dealing with this problem,'[61] but the article also stressed the fact that over the ten years of the previous treaty there had been rapid changes in military

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[58] Packard, Protest in Tokyo, pp. 147-152.
[59] 'Kokumin Fuan wa Kienai', *Asahi Shimbun*, January 12th 1960.
[60] 'Mukanshin no Naka no Arashi', *Mainichi Graph*, January 31st 1960.
[61] 'Kokumin Fuan wa Kienai'.

technology and its prevalence. In the late 1950s, the Soviet Union had made large advances in missile technology, developing and testing an intercontinental ballistic missile. The renewed treaty was dangerous, according to the *Asahi*, because it had the character of a mutual defence treaty between the United States and Japan. There was a great fear among the Japanese of being dragged into a war, given the constantly changing international situation.

As the renewal was becoming an issue in the Japanese media, the international situation was certainly ambiguous. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev visited the United States in the autumn of 1959, and this seeming thaw in relations between the two great powers in the Cold War, the so-called 'spirit of camp David', appeared to make the Security Treaty redundant. For the Japanese Prime Minister, talk of a thaw was a communist conspiracy and the 'spirit of camp David' a 'term devised by communist propagandists for their own purposes'.[62] But for the popular media, it was an important issue in the debate and discussion over Japan's international position and the need for the renewal of the treaty. The domestic protests against the treaty took place against the background of growing Japanese economic influence in Asia and competition over exports with the United States.[63] Commentators and journalists in the popular media discussed the international ambiguity of the Cold War, making clear popular anxiety over the prospects for both war and peace. At the same time, they promoted a vision of a consumer society grounded in Free World ideology and reflecting American lifestyles. This discussion served to gradually frame ideas of nation around the domestic and leisure activities of a growing middle-class, and offered to the young urban workers an aspirational image which reinforced Japan's position in the Cold War as much as the renewal of the Security Treaty made it a political and strategic reality.

Importantly, both the United States and Japanese governments promoted the economic cooperation the renewed treaty would bring. Indeed, it must be noted that one of the signatories of the 1960 treaty was Adachi Tadashi, who was at the time the

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[62] Quoted in a memorandum from Kishi's conversation with Eisenhower January 19th 1960. FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1958–1960, VOLUME XVIII, JAPAN; KOREA, DOCUMENT 133**,** http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v18/d133.
[63] 'Amerika kara Kaete: ANPO Sawagi ni Mataku Mukanshin', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 26th 1959.

chairman of the Japan Productivity Center.[64] On the Japanese side, there was a belief that the treaty would encourage international competition and raise living standards. Writing in *Chūō Kōron*, economist Ono Yoshihiko saw the issue of the economic liberalisation of trade and currency as one of the most pressing issues affecting Japan, on a par with the renewal of the treaty. As he saw it, the rapid development of Japanese capitalism after the war had taken place in the midst of profound changes in the international situation — changes which were 'on a world historical scale'.[65] As a result of these changes, the entire political and economic life of the Japanese people would be affected by reform of the treaty and the liberalisation of trade that would come with it. Since 1945, the overall figure for Japan's exports and imports with the United States has increased by 30%. Between 1957 and 1959 exports to the US had increased by almost 10%.[66] As the *Mainichi Graph* reported in the same month: 'The Japanese industrial world, which has achieved remarkable progress by adopting foreign techniques, is now taking a big stride forward into the field of international competition with the coming of trade liberalization. Having made foreign technology its own, the thing to watch is how Japan will perform on the international stage'.[67] The debate over ANPO, then, was about more than simply the future international security of Japan and its position in the international arena. Indeed, it was a problem which would 'decide for a long time the future destiny of the Japanese people',[68] through its effects on the future direction of the Japanese economy.

The Cold War and the ANPO Problem

The January *Asahi Shimbun* article stressed the ambiguity of the Cold War. It made clear to readers that when thinking about future threats it was 'important to bear in mind that the idea that Japan-US relations as defined in ANPO could ease the worries militarily and finally overcome them', could 'all be undone by a change in the present

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[64] Adachi was chairman from April 1956-March 1972. For the treaty itself see http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html last accessed December 12th 2013.
[65] Ono Yoshihiko, 'ANPO Kaitei to Jiyūka', *Chūō Kōron*, May 1960.
[66] Ono, 'ANPO Kaitei to Jiyūka', Ono was critical of those intellectuals who saw Japan's position in international politics as weak. He believed too much emphasis had been placed on the country's subordination to the United States. See Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *A History of Japanese Economic Thought* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 110.
[67] 'Sakaeru Zajyū Bunka: Gijutsu Teikei kara Kokkusai Shiba he', *Mainichi Graph*, January 31st 1960, pp. 14-15.
[68] Ono, 'ANPO Kaitei to Jiyūka'.

situation'.[69] For many commentators the Japanese government's renewal of the treaty showed a dangerous willingness to accept US protection without regard to the ideological baggage associated with it. These worries were only exacerbated in the lead-up to the treaty's ratification by signs of a change in the relationship between the Free World and the Soviet sphere. By the late 1950s, some commentators in the mass media believed they had detected a thaw in East/West relations on the world stage, and this was interpreted by many as the end of the ideological battle to divide the world between Soviet and American spheres of influence. At the very least it appeared to signal a willingness to coexist peacefully.

The Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev and the US President Dwight D. Eisenhower had met at Camp David for three days from the 25th September 1959. Eisenhower had stated his intention to reciprocate with a visit to Moscow in the spring of 1960. The *Asahi Graph* of October 11th 1959 carried coverage of the Russian leader's visit under the headline 'One step at a time, one step at a time'. Underneath, was a photograph of Khrushchev and Eisenhower shaking hands with the question 'is this the end of the Cold War or the beginning of a movement towards the end?'[70] The magazine carried reports alongside photographs of the Soviet leader and his wife enjoying dinner with Hollywood stars, visiting farms and markets, and also mentioned his son and daughter who were accompanying him on the eight-day visit to the Soviet Union's ideological enemy. There were 'hot debates, defiant remarks on peaceful competition, repeated peace talks and relaxed moments as a tourist in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Des Moines and Pittsburgh'. All this during a trip which 'enlivened the news world'.[71] According to the communiqué released following the three-day Camp David summit, both sides had expressed the desire to work together to solve 'all important international problems' and stressed the belief that these solutions should be peaceful ones. From the perspective of the Japanese popular media, the Cold War appeared to be thawing.

There had been much talk of arms reductions during the Camp David summit. These ideas were debated in a roundtable discussion article published in *Shūkan Heibon* in March 1960. Fujiwara Hirotatsu, a professor at Meiji University, discussed the history of arms reduction and the latest proposals with two young people,

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[69] 'Kokumin Fuan wa Kienai', *Asahi Shimbun*, January 12th 1960.
[70] 'Ippo Zutsu, Ippo Zutsu,' *Asahi Graph* October 12th 1959.
[71] 'Amerika no Furuschev', *Asahi Graph* October 12th 1959, p. 4.

restaurant worker Shinosaki Takako, and unemployed Daigenji Shunsuke. Fujiwara explained that the suggestions put forward by the Soviet Union for reducing standing armies, followed by the reduction of arms production and consumption and even the banning within four years of the use of scientific rockets and nuclear research for military ends were wide-ranging but hard for the West to accept. Secrecy was endemic in the Soviet system and it was therefore hard to verify the seriousness of the East's efforts to carry out any reduction. The West for its part had come up with suggestions centred on the establishment of an independent international body to verify any reductions on both sides. According to Fujiwara, these suggestions had been dismissed by the Russian media as signs that the West was not serious about reducing arms.[72] Unemployed Daigenji Shunsuke saw their point. He expressed concern that the Japanese government was buying jets and strengthening their Self-Defence Forces at a time when the Cold War seemed to be thawing. But ultimately, for Fujiwara, the problem was not the weapons themselves but the level of distrust in the different camps. The hope was that this distrust could be overcome.

The Soviet leader and the American president had met to discuss world peace just as the Japanese government was preparing to ratify the renewal of the ANPO treaty. According to Nakamura Shōgo, the former head of the *Asahi Shimbun's* American office, the great success of the visit, 'made one think that the idea of peaceful coexistence had further inspired and penetrated into the minds of the American public'.[73] Pressing ahead with the renewal of the treaty, then, appeared to some to be a submission to the strategic interests of the United States at a time when the ideological divisions of the Cold War seemed to be softening. When the signing ceremony for the renewal of ANPO came around, this contradiction was reinforced. On February 7th, the *Mainichi Graph* carried photos of the signing ceremony for the renewed treaty along with photographs of Kishi in Washington. The headline proclaimed 'In the middle of the thaw the cold wave', with the sub-heading 'the day Japan was coldest'.[74] The article carried photos and commentary on the demonstrations against the treaty by university students in Tokyo and claimed that since the return of the signatories to Haneda airport there had been no *banzai* or

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[72] 'Gunshuku no Nami ga Yosetekita: Kuichigau Higashi to Nishi no Teian to Nihon no Tachiba,' *Shūkan Heibon*, March 30th 1960, pp. 18-19.
[73] Nakamura Shōgo, 'Fu Shushō Hōbei no Seika', *Asahi Graph,* October 12th 1959.
[74] 'Yuki-doke no Naka no Kampa', *Mainichi Graph*, February 7th 1960.

celebration of the treaty. The Japanese government appeared to be going against the grain in the international environment to renew a military agreement with the United States that appeared to be unnecessary. At the time, when the conditions of the Treaty's renewal became known to the public, the disconnection between the apparent thaw in the Cold War and a wider awareness of the prospects for rapid changes in the future only facilitated the growing opposition.

A monthly current affairs column in the housewife magazine *Fujin Kōron* played on this ambiguity and the volatility within the international arena. The article pointed out that the year 1960 had the potential to turn out to be a historical one, but at the same time there was also a good chance that it might not. The article reminded readers that 1960 was only fifteen years after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, eight years after the H bomb tests, three years after the appearance of the ICBM, not to mention two years since the landing of a rocket on the moon.[75] As Fujiwara Hirotatsu pointed out in *Shūkan Heibon*, the Soviet Union had developed an ICBM in 1957. Clearly, before 1960, the West had underestimated what the Soviet Union could do. Consequently, even with the apparent thaw and Khrushchev's visit to the US, 'the military power of the Soviet Union gradually became unusually threatening to the Western side'.[76] According to the *Fujin Kōron* article, by 1960 it was clear that the human race would be wiped out in the event of another war. It was equally clear that although there existed no other option but to live in peace, 'human feelings do not move in a logical way'.[77] Despite the apparent thaw, fear and distrust remained. The international situation was volatile, but this did not necessarily mean ANPO was essential for Japan's defence.

Shūkan Heibon carried a discussion piece in January 1960 in which twenty-two year old beautician Tanada Etsuko pointed out that things had changed a lot since the signing of the first ANPO treaty in 1952, and that these changes brought into question the reliance of Japan on the United States and vice versa. 'We can put a rocket on the moon, and we live in an era when we can take pictures of the dark side

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[75] Sekai no Me, Nihon no Me: Sensō no Fuan to Heiwa e no Kitai', *Fujin Kōron*, January 1960. The last two technological advances were on the wrong side of the ideological divide as far as Japan was concerned. The US did not have a fully developed ICBM until the middle of 1959.
[76] 'Gunshuku no Nami ' *Shūkan Heibon*, March 30th 1960. Indeed, in May 1960, not long before a planned summit in Paris, the Soviet Union shot down a US spy plane flying over its territory. Although the US denied the claims the Soviet Union produced the pilot and the photos he had been taking at the time.
[77] 'Sekai no Me, Nihon no Me: Sensō no Fuan to Heiwa e no Kitai', *Fujin Kōron*, January 1960.

of the moon. In an era when a missile can fly at the touch of a button the United States cannot guarantee its own security by making Japan a bullet proof vest!' Takagi Takeo of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* agreed, pointing out that if there were to be a war between Taiwan and China and the US became involved, there was a grave danger of Japan coming under retaliatory attack in the form of the bombing of Japan's US military bases. Takagi mentioned the fact that the treaty as it stood had no limits. The next reform would not be due for another ten years, but in such a 'speedy era' ten years was far too long. For Takagi it was 'impossible to think that the international situation will not have changed in ten years'.[78] Japan would do better to keep its options open.

The concept of mutual protection contained in the new treaty influenced the vehemence of opposition to it. It also provided some grounds for the belief that there was a price Japan would pay for its alliance with the US. Yamashita Hajime, a professor at the University of Tokyo, pointed to the ambiguity in political discussions of the treaty. The thorny but central issue of the definition of the concept 'Far East' was ambiguous. The government's explanation had changed two or three times in the Diet discussions.[79] Yamashita also brought up the idea of prior consultation, the right of Japan to refuse to help the US military as well as the problem of nuclear arms, saying: 'We don't know at the moment if there are nuclear weapons in Japan'.[80] None of the most important issues surrounding the treaty were solved. At a time of an apparent thaw in the Cold War, the renewal of the treaty was raising more doubts and worries for the people than it was solving.

Whatever the definition of the term East Asia, for many people the danger lay in Japan having to be drawn in to a war undertaken by the US military in the 'Far East'. Given the continual stress on the ambiguity in the international arena this was not an idle worry for most Japanese. For opponents of the treaty, by signing and thus

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[78] 'Kishi-san Futatabi Amerika e', *Shūkan Heibon*, January 6th 1960, p. 23.
[79] The treaty referred to the US sphere of influence in terms of the 'Far East'. US bases in Japan could be used if events in this area necessitated. The term provoked much discussion, opposition and derision in the Diet during the debate over ANPO. See 'Kyokutō no Han-i o Tsuikyū Suru,' *Asahi Jānaru*, February 28th 1960. This article gives the transcripts of the questions and answers given in the Diet with regard to the definition of the term 'Far East' in the treaty. See Usui Yoshimi, Ed. *ANPO 1960*, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969), pp. 76-84. This edited edition provides articles from all the main journals and newspapers covering the protests and debates and discussion around the renewal.
[80] 'Takamaru ANPO Kaitei Soshi no Ugoki: Futatabi Chi o Nagashita Kokkai Seigan Demo.' *Shūkan Heibon,* May 11th 1960, p. 23.

becoming much more closely involved politically with the United States strategy in Asia, Japan could not embark on improving relations with China or the Soviet Union. Yet, as *Fujin Kōron* pointed out, one of the few positive features of the new ANPO treaty was that it expressed a 'new economic cooperation between Japan and the United States'.[81] In the popular magazines of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Free World ideology, as under the Marshall Plan in Europe, came to represent a de-politicised America redefining Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' by 'transforming freedom from want into freedom *to* want'.[82] Consumption was the key to economic development, and improving living standards and the 'new economic cooperation' between the two countries was key to this. It also tied Japan to US military strategy in East Asia on the side of the Free World in the Cold War. In this context, it is important to note Susan Reid's assertion that in the Soviet Union 'consumption and living standards more generally came to the forefront of party rhetoric and state policy during the 1950s, under the conditions of "peaceful competition" that marked a new, somewhat more relaxed phase of the Cold War'.[83] In Japan, the media discussed and debated the power politics of the renewal of the Security Treaty whilst discourse and debate in the same magazines continued to tie ideas of nation to consumption. Ideas of nation based on 'peace and democracy' became transformed into ideas of 'peace and prosperity'.

This separation of the political America of the Security Treaty crisis and the America of consumer lifestyles was made clear in the magazine *Shūkan Heibon* at the end of June 1960. In its regular 'News Square' section, the magazine published a special round table debate that brought out the ambiguous nature of the crisis for many young people. Hosted by critic Ōya Sōichi, the debate brought together Teramoto Keichi, a 'Western singer' and postgraduate student at Aoyama University, 27; actress Hara Chisako; 'TV talent' Canadian Lee Smith, 18; Chūō University student Fujimoto Kaiya, 20 and department store worker Ogawa Michiko, 20. The introduction to the article asked the question 'When will Kishi quit? Even among people with no interest in politics, in place of 'good morning' or 'good evening' this

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[81] 'Sekai no Me, Nihon no Me.' *Fujin Kōron*, March 1960.
[82] Greg Castillo, 'Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Domestic Dreamworlds: Notions of Home in Post-1945 Europe (Apr., 2005), p. 265.
[83] Susan Reid, 'Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Summer 2002), p.212.

(question) has become the extraordinary conversation point'.[84] The anger and hatred directed towards Kishi was powerful among the young people chosen to take part in the debate. Yet for the most part the tone was apologetic when the subject turned to Japan's relationship with the United States. The article allowed readers to sense a gap between the Japanese people and Japanese politics and, at the same time, provided them with a means of considering the American view of events.

The debate went on to consider the visit to Japan on June 10th by US president Eisenhower's press secretary James Haggerty, who had arrived at Haneda airport to prepare for a planned visit by the president. Around fifteen thousand demonstrators surrounded the car carrying Haggerty and Ambassador MacArthur, and they were finally rescued by a US military helicopter and taken to the US embassy.[85] Eisenhower's visit to Japan, planned for the middle of June, was cancelled. The Canadian Lee Smith claimed to be as 'an individual a neutral', but she thought the demonstrations opposing the treaty were strange, in particular the desire to cancel Ike's visit. Although she was Canadian, Smith allowed the readers to imagine the kinds of questions the American public would be asking. She turned their attention to Kishi and the US president. 'I understand that everybody hates Kishi… but why were there placards proclaiming "Don't Come Ike" and "I hate Ike"? I don't think there is any connection between Kishi and Ike'. Hara replied, 'It's not that we hate Ike!' Ōya Soichi agreed. 'That's right. It's probably hard for foreigners to understand the feelings of the Japanese people right now. I think even MacArthur in the embassy does not understand the feeling at the moment'.[86] The debate brought to the fore the ambiguous nature of the relationship between Japan and the United States. Fujimoto stressed that the protests were not 'anti-America or totally against Eisenhower's visit'. Teramoto Keichi hoped Eisenhower would understand that 'the Haggerty incident does not mean we hate Haggerty or America'. Kishi and his anti-democratic actions had been the main target of the protests of June.

The presence of the Lee Smith at the round table debate allowed the reader to see the broader international perspective on the Security Treaty crisis. The reader could imagine Japan's relationship with the international community (the Free World) as having been jeopardised by the protests. Importantly, the explanations were in

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[84] 'Heiwa no Naka de Utaitai' p. 24.
[85] See for example 'Hagachi Hisho Kyo Rainichi', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 10th.
[86] 'Heiwa no Naka de Utaiitai', pp. 24-25.

large part directed at her. Her foreignness allowed the article to bring out the unique aspects of Japanese culture that had apparently been evident in the protests. If the feelings of the Japanese people were hard for foreigners to understand, Ōya looked to tradition for an explanation. He noted, laughing, that 'the Japanese people have a long tradition of hating Prime Ministers and people in power'.[87] Later he pointed out that 'traditionally in Japan protesters make the police their enemy'.[88] In the photograph accompanying the article, rather than being directly involved in the debate, Lee was separated from the other participants by virtue of being seated away from the others to Ōya Soichi's right (Figure 5). From the outset, she stressed that her father worked in the Canadian embassy and therefore she was unable to offer political opinions. Nevertheless, in posing questions about the protests to the other participants Lee continually detached Kishi from the Treaty itself, thereby allowing readers to do the same.

Smith: I understand that Kishi is hated, but why hate ANPO? Doesn't it protect the Japanese people?

Okawa: I think ANPO probably has some good points but the bad points are worse.

Fujimoto: Until now ANPO has been forced on us by America but in revising it the Japanese people should be able to give their opinions. That's the problem.

Ōya: But up to now Japan had no freedom to cancel the treaty. In the next ten years if we want to cut off the treaty we can do. But, if we cancel the treaty on one side, it will mean cutting off relations with America. That is the problem.

Hara: It's not about saying 'We like America' or 'We like the Soviet Union' I think the hope of the Japanese people lies in their saying 'we want to live in peace'.

Teramoto: At any rate, people are resigned to wanting something to happen soon. Honestly, when I go to the 'Young Japan' meetings and they are all moaning about the anti-America

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[87] Ibid. p. 25.
[88] Ibid. p. 26.

demonstrations…as someone who sings American music (western songs) I feel like giving up! (laughs).

Ōya: Teramoto-san and Hara-san your job is the business of peace. Without peace Shūkan Heibon will not sell. For that reason (let's hope) that the end comes and peace returns.89

一日も早くみんなが楽しい生活をおくれるようにと……左からリー・スミス　大宅壮一　原知佐子　藤本快哉　小川美智子　寺本圭一のみなさん

(Figure 5.) The News Square round table with Canadian Lee Smith next to critic Ōya Soichi

Smith's presence and Ōya Soichi's role as commentator allowed the reader to sense that the anger on the streets of Tokyo was ambiguous. It was not necessarily anti-American, but the renewal of the Security Treaty was being imposed on the Japanese people without their consent. The ambiguity created room for the reader to begin to view the relationship with the US on Japanese terms, although it recognised an element of subservience and, as with the wider media debates and discussions, underlined the necessity of the treaty for the economic development of Japan. Yet, by

[89] Ibid. p. 29.

separating Kishi from the treaty and reinforcing the image of a benign America it added to the increasing de-politicisation in the portrayal of consumer society. In the media, the protests over the renewal of the Security Treaty in 1960 brought out the ambiguity of the Cold War and the domestic transformations currently under way in Japan. The media presented an image of America which offered lifestyle choices for the increasingly prosperous Japanese people. The ideology of production, which helped to fuel economic growth after the Korean War, spurred the ideology of consumption, offering a way for Japanese to identify with the US. and consider their country's position in the world through the lens of an emerging consumer culture. In

(Figure 6.) The boom in leisure at sea, *Mainichi Graph* July 3rd 1960.

many ways, this worked to disavow the subordinate relationship between the two countries.

If at the beginning of 1960 Americans looked to own a boat and travel in their free time, by July 1960, with Kishi gone and the new Prime Minister espousing income doubling and the separation of politics from economics, the *Mainichi Graph* was reporting on the boom in boat ownership in Japan (Figure 6). 'Yachting and motor-boating have become popular among the Japanese people recently. Groups of four or five that own a yacht or a motorboat, repair the craft by themselves'. Going

out on a boat, 'though it may sound like an exaggeration, allows you to perceive the happiness of human freedom'.[90] Hosting the Olympic Games would increase the emphasis on mass leisure for the Japanese people and cement the link between consumer and national ideas within the Cold War ideological trope of freedom and happiness. At the same time, criticisms of domestic consumption patterns would emerge to re-inscribe the overtly political opposition to the United States seen in the ANPO protests onto ideas of nation based around consumption and individual choice.

[90] 'Umi no Masu Rejya', *Mainichi Graph*, July 3rd 1960, pp. 22-23.

Chapter 4

Japan during the Tokyo Olympics

'Understood in its totality, the spectacle is both the outcome and the goal of the dominant mode of production…the spectacle epitomizes the prevailing model of social life'.

Guy Debord[1]

The Tokyo Olympics, held in October 1964, were the first to be held in Asia. Indeed they were the first to be held in any non-white, non-western country. They were also the first to be telecast internationally, live and in colour, the first to use computer technology to record the results of the sporting events, and the first time a fibre glass pole was used in the Pole Vault competition.[2] Inasmuch as the Olympics have long been considered a Western event, their hosting by non-western cities has mostly been interpreted in terms of the attainment by the host of certain social and economic conditions, usually marking the Games as a rite of passage for the host country in the eyes of the international audience and the domestic public. But the Games in Tokyo in 1964, no less than those in Beijing and Seoul more recently, tell as much about the changing international political environment as they do about the social and economic development of the host country.

In many ways, the overarching imperative to make the Tokyo Olympiad a success was driven by the desire to flaunt the fact that, in the words of the Japanese government's 1956 white paper, the 'postwar is over'.[3] Novelist and cultural critic Yasuoka Shōtarō claimed that the Tokyo Games brought a certain amount of peace to the hearts of the Japanese after the worries of the immediate postwar period, and critic Etō Jun watched an opening ceremony that 'showed a Japan which could at last take its place in the world', and similar claims could no doubt be made for South Korea in

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[1] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, (New York: Zone Books, 1995), p. 13.
[2] http://www.olympic.org/tokyo-1964-summer-olympics. Last accessed on 17/12/12.
[3] Sekiguchi Eri, 'Tokyo Orinpiku to Nihon Banpaku Hakurankai', in Oikawa Ed. Tokyo Orinpikku, pp. 1-38; Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 143-163; Christian Tagsold, 'Modernity, space and national representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964', *Urban History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, August 2010.

1988 and China twenty years later.[4] Nevertheless, the hosting of the Olympiad in East Asia has done more than demonstrate a growing worldwide homogeneity. The Games have in many cases emphasised distinctive Asian histories, priorities and identities to a greater extent than what William Tsutsui has called 'a unitary global modernity'.[5]

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics as a spectacle and media event sought to combine the idea of a unique Asian identity with a thoroughly modern, economically advanced democratic society. In doing so, it demonstrated how the recurring question of 'universality and cultural integrity'[6] was confronted by Japan within the context of Cold War rivalries and rapid economic growth. For the domestic audience, as well as for 'advanced countries' the Games presented Japan as more than ready to play its role in the global modernity of the 1960s. Peace-loving and democratic, the Japan on display in 1964 had thoroughly abandoned the militaristic and feudal tendencies of the 1930s and 1940s and could now be completely reintegrated into international society.[7] Less than twenty years after the end of the war, the Games also projected an image of a rebuilt, modern country centred on Tokyo, a capital city which offered up an example of modernization to be emulated by other countries in Asia. Within the popular media this idea of a Japan that had successfully followed the path of modernisation laid down by the Free World, and had apparently caught up with the West was one which nevertheless retained its Asian identity and retained its cultural uniqueness.

The Tokyo Olympics affirmed Japan's existence in the world, and confirmed for the Japanese people their identity within a world of nations. There were vast, widely celebrated transformations which aimed to turn Tokyo into a modern, cosmopolitan city. 97.25% of the budget for the Games was spent on urban expansion and the improvement of infrastructure.[8] As the popular photographic magazine *Asahi Graph* recalled a few weeks after the closing ceremony: 'The children of Tokyo had (the fact of) their existence among the many countries of the world burned into their

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[4] Ueyama Kazuo, 'Tokyo Orinpiku to Shibuya, Toyko', in Oikawa Ed. Tokyo Orinpikku, pp. 39-74; William Tsutsui 'Introduction', in Tsutsui and Baskett Eds. The East Asian Olympiads, pp. 1-22.
[5] Tsutsui, 'Introduction', in Tsutsui and Baskett, Eds. The East Asian Olympiads, p. 15.
[6] Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, 1993, p. 68.
[7] Noriko Aso, 'Sumptuous Repast: The 1964 Tokyo Olympics Arts Festival', *Positions* 10:1, Spring 2002, p. 8.
[8] Tsutsui, 'Introduction', in Tsutsui and Baskett, Eds. The East Asian Olympiads p. 14.

eyes, and the visitors experienced first-hand the heart and energy of the Japanese people (*Nihonjin*). It was a truly precious month'.

Regarding the Tokyo Olympiad, Christian Tagsold has argued that, 'symbolic politics and the burden of history called for image management not simply in order to enhance marketing opportunities but to reconstruct national identities'.[9] Yet this chapter shows how the emergence of Japan within the context of almost a decade of high-speed economic growth firmly embedded the reconstruction of Japanese national identity within the marketing opportunities presented by a vibrant, youth-led consumer society. This was the continuation of a process outlined in the previous chapters through which ideas of nation became connected in the popular media with an everyday life based around consumption. As an event, the Tokyo Olympics was all about consumption, and when 'Tokyo turned out to be the most cosmopolitan city in the world during the 15 day Olympic Games…' it was in those spaces of consumption that the nation came to be seen as a reality. The *Asahi Graph* continued: 'Tokyoites saw men and women from all the continents in the world at shopping centres, entertainment places and parks'.[10] As Nakamura Masanori has noted, the 1960s was a period when 'high school students' and University students' new ways of living and feeling brought about a change in the scenery of the imagination'.[11] The extent to which this changing scenery was about consumption was literally made concrete by the alterations in the actual scenery of Japan itself as the Games approached.

This chapter will outline how the popular media in Japan in the lead up to the 1964 Olympics exposed the tension between the emphasis on a distinctive cultural identity and the universal global modernity of the Cold War Free World. As outlined in the previous chapters, the role of consumption in the everyday lives of the Japanese people changed over the course of the 1950s and helped to depoliticise the image of America and Japan in the popular media. In the context of the Olympics, the question of Japan's national identity emerged in the popular press as a debate over the nature and desirability of consumer society, a debate which informed ideas of nation throughout the period of high speed economic growth and clarified Japan's place in the global order of so-called free world capitalism. At the same time, the distancing of

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[9] Christian Tagsold, 'Modernity, space and national representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964', *Urban History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, August 2010, p. 291.
[10] 'Afureru Kokusai Iro', *Asahi Graph*, November 6th 1964.
[11] Nakamura Masanori, *Sengoshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005), p. 107.

everyday life from Cold War politics continued. As Shunya Yoshimi has shown, by the early 1960s Japanese companies had begun to assert a certain amount of national pride in their advertising of new consumer goods.[12]

Asserting the quality and performance of home-produced consumer goods in media advertising helped produce an image of Japan as an example for other Asian countries to follow. Japan epitomised 'global modernity' not only through the transformation of its infrastructure; the very nature of its national identity was transformed into an article of consumption. This could be separated from the symbolic politics of the Games to allow an apparently depoliticised idea of nation to emerge, a shift that affected the way both Asia and the West figured domestically in the formation of ideas of nation. However, it also reflected fears over the increasing visibility of the working class men and women who consumed and populated these new spaces of consumption. Criticism of these new lifestyles took aim at Japan's aping of American consumerism and this allowed for reflection on ideas of Japan and Japanese-ness. The country's re-emergence onto the world stage as a bridge between East and West was not simply related to the numerous feats of civil engineering carried out to make the games a reality, it was also about the presentation of a Japanese lifestyle firmly embedded, ideologically if not economically, in consumption.

This chapter will firstly outline the Cold War context of Japan's relationship with Free Asia and the way in which this was reflected in discussion and debate over Japan's international image in the run-up to the hosting of the Tokyo Olympics. The second section will show how the transformation of the city for the Games allowed the consumption of a modern lifestyle to come to the fore in debate and discussion over ideas of nation. This lifestyle was becoming more literally Japanese as building and construction projects gathered pace and consumption tied together the national and international. The chapter's final section will look at the way the hosting of the Olympic Games brought division and disagreement over the positive and negative features of consumption, which played out in the juxtaposition of the threats and the opportunities the transformations posed to Japan's young women.

Japan as a Role Model

[12] Yoshimi, 'Consuming America, Producing Japan', pp. 79-82.

After 1945, as the Japanese Empire was disbanded and international power politics divided along Free World versus Communist Bloc lines, the strategic imperatives of the United States and its allies shifted. The immediate postwar emphasis of the Occupation authorities on stripping Japan of military and economic power and punishing the country's wartime leaders ceded to the necessity of finding a way to bring the country back into the postwar world, particularly in Asia. Unaware of the strength of nationalist feeling in the colonies of Southeast Asia and lacking an overall post-war plan for the region, the European and American colonial powers feared that instability could provide fertile ground for pro-communist movements. The longer the transfer of sovereignty took, the weaker the anti-communist nationalists and the colonial powers would become. By 1949, U.S Policy Planning Staff Paper 51 emphasised the importance of Southeast Asia in the battle against communism in Asia and the importance of relations between Japan and Southeast Asia for the economic revival of both regions.[13]

Japan's advance into the region throughout the 1950s 'proceeded with the tacit acceptance of the United States' which worried that the vacuum created by the retreat of the colonial powers would be filled by communist influence. 'Japan's return to Southeast Asia overlapped with decolonisation and the Cold War, and Japan's return to Asia was thus closely linked to the transformation of the order in this region'.[14] From the mid-1950s, historian and diplomat Edwin Reischauer had pressed the need for the downplaying of the American model in advancing the cause for democracy in Asia because, 'to the extent that we identify democracy exclusively with the United States, we are actually undermining our cause in Asia, for then we make democracy seem hopelessly unobtainable'.[15] Reischauer did not offer up Japan as a role model to take the place of the United States, but by early 1960 the United States National Security Council had made clear its desire to 'use Japan as an example to the less developed countries of the feasibility of achieving rapid economic progress within a framework of free institutions'.[16] How Japan was understood in the region became a

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[13] Kenichi Goto, *Tensions of Empire: Japan and Southeast Asia in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, (Athens: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 2003). See Chapter 11.
[14] Taizo Miyagi, 'Post-War Japan and Asianism', *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2006.
[15] Quoted in John Dower, 'E. H. Norman and the Uses of History', in *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E. H. Norman*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975),p. 48.
[16] 'U.S. Policy Toward Japan', NSC 6008, May 20, 1960. (Accessed at http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com/home.do April 2, 2013).

pressing issue that increased in parallel to its growing economic power — but Japan was still not accepted as a part of the developed world of the West.

During and after the Bandung Conference of 1955, many in Japan saw an opportunity for the country to position itself as neither Eastern nor Western, but instead to use its original civilisation as the ideal bridge between the Cold War powers.[17] During the late 1950s, Japan's increasing economic role in Southeast Asia provided the ideal means to strengthen this position. After the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, the issue of war reparations to countries in Southeast Asia became combined with the Japanese government's desire for economic development in the region. Japanese leaders sought to promote economic cooperation and build up markets for the rapidly growing Japanese economy. The region offered Japan the cheap raw materials and markets necessary to build up capital reserves and begin to bridge the 'dollar gap'. In the late 1950s, Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke visited 15 countries in Asia including India, Pakistan, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore, underlining the importance of the region for Japanese economic development.

Throughout the 1950s, Japan's war reparations, paid in the form of services and capital goods, were successfully designed to 'facilitate integration with Southeast Asia' whilst easing the path for Japanese influence in the region.[18] All reparations were made through the provision of services and products, spurring production in Japan and providing ready-made export markets for Japanese firms. The pay-off was clear in economic terms. Japan's trade with Asia increased more than 300% in the ten years between 1957 and 1967. The policy also helped to sow the seeds of a conscious independent identity for Japan and its international relations, which was further

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[17]Ikeda Sogo, 'Sengo Nichibei Kankei ni Okeru Nihon Gaiko no Aidentiti', in Hasegawa Yuichi Ed. *Nihon no Gaiko no Aidentiti*, (Tokyo: Nansōsha, 2004), pp. 195-198; Ronald P. Dore, 'Japan's Place in the World', 1966, pp. 304-306; Kweku Ampiah, 'Japan at the Bandung Conference: An attempt to assert an independent foreign policy', in Iokibe Makoto, Caroline Rose, Tomaru Junko, John Weste Eds. *Japanese Diplomacy in the 1950s: From Isolation to Integration*, (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 79-97.

[18]William S. Borden, *The Pacific Alliance: United States Foreign Policy and Japanese Trade Recovery, 1947-1955*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Akira Suehiro, 'The Road to Economic Re-entry: Japan's policy toward Southeast Asian Development in the 1950s and 1960s', *Social Science Japan Journal*, Vol 2, No 1, 1999.

bolstered by the policies pursued by the Kishi government.[19] During the same period, the Japanese domestic economy grew at a rapid rate, and by 1964, according to a government white paper, the standard of living in Japan was equal to that of countries in Western Europe. The policies pursued at Bandung, and then through the Kishi administration, had by the mid-1960s gradually elevated Japan to the economic position in which it could take over the burden of leading the development of the region from the United States.[20] Nevertheless, by 1964, as Ronald Dore pointed out, Japanese attempts to claim a place alongside the developed world whilst at the same time siding with the interests of its poorer Asian neighbours had put Japan into a position that was becoming increasingly difficult.[21] How Japan was understood in the region became a pressing issue as its economic power increased.

In July 1964, three months before the start of the Tokyo Olympics *Fujin Kōron* carried an article based on a round table discussion, which focused on the way people in other Asian countries viewed Japan. The article was accompanied by a picture of Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato on a visit to Southeast Asia, and sought to examine the way ordinary people in Asia understood Japan's diplomatic policies in the region and how that affected their views on the country itself. After recent UN trade negotiations in Geneva one newspaper reported that within Asia Japan was seen as an 'advanced country', while from the viewpoint of 'advanced countries' Japan was Asian. This report gave the impression that both sides — Asia and the advanced countries — had marginalised Japan. The *Fujin Kōron* round table strove to understand why despite the best efforts of Japan's diplomats to present Japan as 'one country in Asia', (one of the three principles of Japanese foreign policy announced by the Kishi cabinet), Japan was still not accepted by countries in Asia as 'a member of Asia'.[22]

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[19]Ikeda, 'Sengo Nichibei Kankei'; Sakamoto Kazuya, 'Conditions of an Independent State: Japanese Diplomacy in the 1950s', in Makoto Iokibe Ed. *The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011, pp. 50-80.

[20]Suehiro, 'The Road to Economic Re-entry'. The result of the Vietnam War was to leave Japan in the position of the most powerful country in the region, Thomas Havens, *Fire Across the Sea: Japan and the Vietnam War*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); although Tadokoro Masayuki argues that this did not become evident until the 1970s, Tadokoro Masayuki, 'The Model of an Economic Power: Japanese Diplomacy in the 1960s' in Makoto Iokibe Ed. The Diplomatic History, pp. 83-86.

[21]Ronald P. Dore, 'Japan's Place in the World', *The World Today*, Vol. 22, No. 7, (Jul, 1966).

[22] Japanese Foreign Ministry, *Diplomatic Bluebook* 1957 at www.mofa.gov.jp (accessed 3rd April 2013); Sakamoto, 'Conditions of an Independent State', pp. 66-69; Sang Mi Park, 'The Paradox of

At a time when the United States was seeking Japan's support for operations in South Vietnam, and talks between South Korea and Japan had been put on hold due to violent student protests against the resumption of bilateral relations, Terasawa Hajime urged the need to think about how Asian people saw Japan. The legacy of Japanese colonialism and the present Cold War battle between the free world and communism loomed large in the discussion. As the sub-heading of the *Fujin Kōron* article put it: 'twenty years after war how do Asian people caught up in the ideological battle between East and West see and think about a Japan which has recovered so surprisingly?' By understanding the views of ordinary Asian people it would be possible to understand the stance Japan should take in international relations. As the article saw it, knowing how ordinary people in other Asian countries saw the effects of Japan's diplomacy would make it possible to get to the core of how Japan should act in Asia.[23] The perception of a low opinion of Japan among many of the people in Asian countries was a worry for all the participants in the round table debate.

Maruyama Shizuo, an editorial writer for the *Asahi Shimbun* who as a war correspondent covered Japanese campaigns in Burma, discussed Indonesia, where during the wartime he had sensed a lot of hope and expectation among the people towards Japan.[24] Unfortunately, those hopes were dashed by the actions of the Japanese military in Southeast Asia. As Maruyama saw it, despite their initial goodwill the Indonesian people were left understandably disappointed. With the end of the war and the dismantling of the Japanese Empire 'whether in Singapore or Manila', the people's opposition to Japan in light of the actions of what he referred to as 'bad Japanese soldiers' grew stronger and anti-Japanese sentiment continued to rise. Nevertheless, the journalist was optimistic that over the next three or four years feelings would become much more favourable towards Japan. In analysing the way Japan was viewed in Asia, Maruyama sensed a feeling of affinity as fellow Asians. He put this shift in opinion down to the recent rapid development of the Japanese

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Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural policy in South Korea, 1965-Present', *Journal of Korean Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Fall 2010,2010, p. 73.

[23] 'Kon gatsu no shoten: Asia ni okeru taini kanjo', *Fujin Kōron*, No 577, July 1964, pp. 70-79.

[24] See Maruyama Shizuo, 'A New Asian Approach to Asia', in Joyce C. Lebra Ed. *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II: Selected Readings and Documents*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 171-175.

economy and a growing respect for the way Japan had overcome the total destruction of the war.

In most countries of Asia, as Maruyama saw it, the feeling that there was something to be learned from Japan's policies of high-speed growth was now very strong. Ōmori Minoru, head of foreign news for the *Mainichi Shimbun* agreed that feeling towards Japan's present economy was completely different to the feelings in most countries during the war.[25] By the mid-1960s, for many Asian countries the Japanese experience offered a path to economic success and development which would allow those post-colonial countries to stand on their own two feet. Of course, as the largest powers in the region, India and China could not be ignored. However, Maruyama pointed out that India was not liked by countries such as Burma, Ceylon and Nepal because of its 'posturing as a leader on the world stage', and also simply because, according to Maruyama, it was 'difficult for humans to understand each other' and Indians were 'especially difficult to like'. Terasawa Hajime agreed that on aeroplanes 'Indian people are bureaucratic' — not just the civil servants, but the cleaners too were 'bureaucratic in a bad way'. Nevertheless, as Maruyama acknowledged, the problem Japan had to come to terms with was that, difficult to like or not, the excellence of the Indian people which was ascribed to the greatness of British colonialism gave India a huge future potential in the region. Japan had no alternative but to recognise this future potential and find a way to deal with it.

These comments clearly hinted at both the political issues of the Cold War and the question of Japan's identity in relation to East and West. China had sharply criticised the Kishi government for renewal of the security treaty with the United States in 1960, seeing the alliance as 'proof that Japanese militarism had already returned'. Despite efforts to improve relations throughout the early 1960s, Japan's involvement in the Vietnam War and China's testing of an atomic bomb at the time of the Tokyo Olympics presented serious impediments to improved relations.[26] At the same time, under the Prime Ministerial leadership of Jawahalal Nehru, India had presented itself as the promoter and leader of the non-aligned movement, refusing to sign the San Francisco Peace Treaty because of the US-Japan Security Treaty. India believed the Security Treaty should only be concluded once Japan had become an

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[25] 'Asia ni Okeru Taini Kanjo', p. 71.
[26] Tadokoro, 'The Model of an Economic Power', pp. 96-98.

independent country. Moreover, as Japan sought to build up its economic influence in the region, investment in India often encountered red tape, which served to frustrate the growth of a commercial base there. Japanese investment in India constantly came up against the refrain from Indian leaders that 'Japan is a big country economically. India is big in other ways'. So while on one level the Indians were similar to other Asian countries in their increasing respect for Japan as an 'Asian country which had achieved modernisation', the Japanese were nevertheless patronised as 'uncommunicative members of a derivative civilisation'.[27]

Travelling around Asia, Ōmori had been struck by the wealth of Japan. During the discussion, he chose to emphasise the fact that Japan's position in the Cold War under the protection of the United States nuclear umbrella was essential to this wealth. In a section of the debate entitled *Blissful Japan*, he explained how Japan's wealth had come about predominately because of the security of the country. When he met with political leaders in Taiwan, Laos and Korea they had all told him that Japan was in a position to develop its economy safe from the fear of communism because Vietnam was the focus of the battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Ōmori claimed that at first he didn't pay much attention to these comments, but after thinking about it he had to admit that 'having a military budget of 2 per cent of the people's earnings and the ANPO treaty' Japan had 'absolutely no fear of communism'.[28] Despite the fact that all over Asia the battle between left and right still raged, Japan was secure because of her 'blessed geography'.

As the participants in the round table debate pointed out, there was an emerging respect for Japan among many Asian countries, particularly with regard to the economic advances it had made. Japan was a role model for many countries hoping to overcome their positions as pawns in an ideological battle between the free world and the communist bloc. The commentators all saw Japan as having moved beyond those ideological struggles which had hallmarked of much of the debate over ideas of nation in Japan during the early and mid-1950s. Yet, as Ōbokata hinted, the problem of Japan's apparent subordination to the United States could negatively influence feeling toward Japan in many Asian countries. While the *Fujin Kōron* debate presented Japan as a leader on the world stage and an example to other

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[27] Lawrence Olson, *Japan in Postwar Asia*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970), pp. 223-231.
[28] 'Asia ni okeru taini kanjo', *Fujin Kōron*, July 1964, pp. 75-76.

countries in Asia, the low key diplomacy of the 1950s needed to appear further disengaged from US policy in the region if Japan was to be fully accepted as 'one country in Asia'. The problem of finding the right balance between Japan as 'west' and Japan as 'east' was firmly embedded in the concerns of the Cold War.

In his commemoration speech to mark Japan's accession to the United Nations in December 1956, Japanese foreign minister Shigemitsu Mamoru claimed that Japan could be 'regarded as a bridge between East and West'.[29] As Sang Mi Park has pointed out, Japan's diplomacy throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s was characterised by attempts to 'unobtrusively position Japan as an international mediator' in Asia. Economic growth and booming trade with Asia meant that by 1962, diplomat Suzuki Tadakatsu could claim that the country could 'greatly contribute to world cultural development within the contemporary international context of an on-going Cold War'.[30] As Maruyama Shizuo pointed out in *Fujin Kōron*, the nature of Japan's re-engagement with Asia varied greatly according to the particular wartime experiences of Japanese Imperialism, as well as the postwar actions of the European and American colonial powers.

Nevertheless, early in the postwar period Japanese intellectuals, politicians, and commentators of both left and right realised the need for Japan to define its position in Asia whilst seeking a niche in the western world. As Sandra Wilson has put it, a 'self-conscious Asian-ness was thus juxtaposed with an image of Japan as a modern, westernized country at the forefront of science and technology'.[31] Yet the west also understood the importance of accepting Japan as a member of the Free World and treating the country as 'a full and major ally', whilst using its successful economic policies as an advert for the Free World. The Tokyo Olympics provided the perfect opportunity to depoliticise Japanese influence in the region. By the time of the Tokyo Olympiad, the question of Japan's influence in Asia asked by *Fujin Kōron* — 'How do Asian people caught up in the ideological battle between East and West see and think about a Japan which has recovered so surprisingly?' — was no longer

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[29] See http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/address5612.html for a transcript of Shigemitsu's address. (Accessed January 10th 2013); also Sakamoto, 'Conditions of an Independent State', pp. 66-67.
[30] Park, 'The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism', pp. 73-82.
[31] Sandra Wilson, 'The Tokyo Olympics of 1964 and Expo '70 in Osaka', *Historical Research*, Vol. 85, no 227 (February 2012), p. 169.

solely premised on the amount of economic assistance provided by Japan. It was becoming a question of cultural understanding.

In 1964 the Japanese foreign ministry made clear its policy of emphasising the introduction of Japanese culture to the world through the promotion of foreign cultural exchange. This emphasis on exporting culture was not solely a concern of the Japanese government. The diplomatic bluebook for 1964 pointed out that most countries were working towards the promotion of world peace through cultural exchange and mutual understanding. The Japanese government set up the Division of Cultural Affairs within the foreign ministry and emphasised that this cultural promotion was hard for non-governmental organisations to carry out alone. It stressed that whether through government efforts alone or together with private companies and aid agencies the Japanese government would make every effort to introduce Japanese culture to the world to promote mutual understanding and ultimately world peace.[32] To this end, in 1962, Kishi Nobusuke became the president, Ikeda Hayato honorary president, and Japanese foreign minister Ohira Masayoshi honorary vice-president of the Society for International Cultural Relations (KBS).

This independent body, which had functioned during the war as the main organisation for overseas propaganda, took a leading role in revising cultural policy.[33] It was in the context of the strong emphasis on the promotion of Japanese culture abroad and the Cold War ideal of a Japan that could act as a role model for Free Asia that ideas of nation and the nature of Japanese national culture were discussed and debated in the domestic media. The Tokyo Olympics provided the opportunity for Japan to introduce its culture to the world, and to realise the ideal of a bridge between East and West. Through the transformations in infrastructure in preparation for the Games and given the nature of the Games themselves, culture and consumption had become deeply linked by 1964.

Consuming the City, Consuming the World

As noted in the previous chapter, the period from the late 1950s saw the emergence of a 'mass-consumption consciousness', in which popular magazines showed their readers what they should be, what they should aspire to, and what they should and

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[32]Japanese Foreign Ministry, 'Kokkusai Bunka Koryū no Genjyou', *Diplomatic Bluebook,* 1964, at www.mofa.gov.jp (last accessed 1st April 2013).
[33] Park, 'The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism', p. 74.

could consume. In doing so, they deliberately constructed the 1964 Tokyo Olympics as a consumer event. The Games became 'a mechanism for the formation of consumer culture through a media which reflected the times, influencing society whilst changing people's lifestyles and consciousness'.[34] In the popular media the transformation of the country for the Tokyo Olympiad was one aspect of this shift in emphasis from a production oriented economics to a focus on the consumer as king.

The design and development of buildings central to the games themselves, such as the stadia and the athletes' village, were directly aimed at proving Japan's modernity whilst reconciling its recent history. Kenzo Tange's Yoyogi gymnasium with its imagined line of sight towards the resting place of the Meiji Emperor, deliberately proposed a continuation between Meiji era modernisation and the postwar transformation of the country.[35] But wider transformations in infrastructure were also necessary in the light of the hasty reconstruction of the Occupation period, which had been followed by the rapid population growth brought about by the industrialization of the 1950s.

Japan, and particularly Tokyo, was dramatically rebuilt to prepare for the Games, with much of the budget for the Games being spent on urban expansion and infrastructure improvement. Taking the previous Olympiad in Rome in 1960 as an example, the Tokyo Olympics became the trigger for large-scale urban improvement.[36] Housing was a particular problem throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and even the end of the postwar government White Paper in 1956 accepted that housing was the slowest area of the national lifestyle to recover. Despite the formation by the Hatoyama cabinet of the Japan Housing Association in 1955 — a public, non-profit housing developer — and the implementation of a ten-year plan to address housing problems, the immediate postwar housing shortage had by no means been addressed by 1964. Nevertheless, the emergence of the *Danchi* as a solution to urban overcrowding and their status as the epitome of 'modern living' had already become firmly associated with a consumer lifestyle and modernity.[37] This transformation also allowed the city to shed the perceived violent associations with

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[34] Sekiguchi, 'Tokyo Orinpiku to Nihon Banpaku Hakurankai'.
[35] Tasgold, 'Modernity, Space and National Representation', p. 295.
[36] Ibid. p. 296; Igarashi, 'Bodies of Memory', pp. 143-163.
[37] Nihon Keizai Kikakucho, 'Kokumin Seikatsu Hakusho', Shōwa 31 (1956), p. 282, Ono Hiroshi, 'Sumai no Riso to Genjitsu-Kodo Seicho-ki no Tokyo', in Okawa Yoshinobu Ed, Tokyo Orinpiku, pp. 129-155; Laura Nietzel, Living Modern.

the America of the Occupation.[38] At the same time, it helped to create the city as 'Japanese'.

According to the headline of an article in the young people's magazine *Shūkan Heibon* in August 1964, massive building projects had, over the course of the early 1960s, transformed Tokyo into a 'dream modern city'.[39] This had entailed a vast cleanup operation dating back to the late 1950s, which took in infrastructure as well as public morality with the aim of 'beautifying Japan' for the foreign visitors.[40] To address the noxious smell emanating from the Sumida River, new sewers were laid and the government attempted as best it could to conceal the persistence of prewar hygiene conditions and various unsightly aspects of the city. The human side of the cleanup campaign saw the metropolitan police removing 'malicious violators who would damage the capital's appearance', targeting wounded veterans begging on the streets outside major train stations and anyone caught 'urinating in the street'.[41] It was not just the homeless who were affected by this obsession with cleansing the unsanitary streets. *Punch-kun* of the young men's magazine *Heibon Punch* brought his readers' attention to the fact that with only thirteen weeks left before the Olympic games there was a distinct lack of public toilets. In Tokyo there were four hundred public toilets but, according to *Punch-kun*, this was only a tenth of the number in London. Clearly, with the new law against urinating in public, for the foreign visitors flocking to Japan, going out of the hotel during the Olympics to enjoy the bars and restaurants could pose a problem.[42]

It had its critics, but the idea of Tokyo as a dream modern city helped fuel the discourse over Japan's rebirth less than twenty years after the destruction of 1945. Debates revolved around the idea of consumption and consumer society. They looked forward rather than back in the search for the essence of Japan. In the popular media, it was the promise of a modern consumer lifestyle that was being touted as the true symbol of modernity. Even the efforts of the police to eradicate crime sought to present Tokyo as 'a bright space where nothing could hide in its interstices'.[43] The '*hanzai no nai akarui machi*' (crime free, bright town) touted by the metropolitan

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[38] Yoshimi, 'Consuming America, Producing Japan', p. 69.
[39] 'Yume no Kindai Toshi Tokyo Shin-chizu', *Shūkan Heibon*, August 27th 1964, pp. 94-99.
[40] Garon, Moulding Japanese Minds, p. 170.
[41] Igarashi, Bodies of Memory, pp. 146-153.
[42] 'Punch-kun no Seiron Chōsa', *Heibon Punch*, July 20th 1964,p. 15.
[43] Igarashi, Bodies of Memory, p. 153.

police used 'bright' (*akarui*) in exactly the same way as the advertising gurus and corporate salesmen of the high-speed growth period in their promotion of a consumer-driven economy. As noted in the previous chapter, the 'bright life' had emerged in the 1950s as an ideological symbol which sought to imply 'the housewife-centred family and the dominance of the middle class'.[44] In this context, as the Olympics approached, the city and the country became sites of consumption both objectively and subjectively.

In January 1964, nearly ten months before the start of the event, the *Asahi Graph* published images and commentary on the building work being carried out in Tokyo in preparation for the opening ceremony in October. The journal boasted that the Tokyo Olympiad would be 'the first celebration of beauty and power in the East, adorned with the unique ideas of Japan and supported by world class civil engineering'.[45] The rebuilding of Tokyo was a spectacular demonstration that Japan had achieved the standards of more economically advanced countries and the *Asahi* focused on those buildings that would host Olympic events. Meanwhile, *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* excited their young readers with the rapid growth of opportunities for a life of leisure. A high-speed monorail had been constructed to link the city centre with the country's busiest airport, Haneda. New roads and highways, new subway lines and the stadiums and facilities which would be used to host the games were impressive examples of the dream modern city and brought vast changes to the experience of the city. 'While breathing in the sea air of Tokyo Bay', Haneda International Airport was now only thirty minutes away thanks to a fantastic new highway.

The nature of these changes and their basis in consumer culture was underlined by the fact that while around 50,000 people per day visited the airport itself, 20,000 of them were there purely to see the airport. For these tourists there was a flight simulator, which gave the experience of 'really flying in an aeroplane'. At four to five degrees cooler than the city, the airport was a great place to take in the view and the leisure mood was epitomised by a rooftop beer garden where the beer drunk in the evening while gazing at the amazing illuminations of the airport 'tasted completely different', according to Mr Nakazawa of the airport building management

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[44] Partner, Assembled in Japan, p. 145.
[45] 'Kansei Isogu Hare Butai', *Asahi Graph*, January 24th 1964.

company. With the opening in September of the high-speed monorail, it would be possible to travel from Haneda airport to the city of Hamamatsu non-stop in just fifteen minutes. At Hamamatsu a heliport was planned next to the monorail station, a bus terminal would be built, and eventually the monorail would be extended to Shimbashi.

The changes above ground were impressive, but of greater interest to the magazine's younger readers was the fact that Ginza would see a great new underground date spot once the underground lines and the marble shopping arcades were finished. Amorous young couples would be able to 'see a film in Hibiya and then enjoy shopping in Ginza'. The article also pointed out that for those who wanted to soak up just 'a smidgen' of the 'gorgeous atmosphere' at the airport there was a hotel on the third floor of the international departures lounge which could be reached (rooms for two costing 2,800 yen for three hours!) via the escalator in the lounge.[46] Tokyo was undergoing huge changes, but for the young and predominantly single female readership of *Shūkan Heibon*, it was the promise of a lifestyle of consumption and leisure which framed those changes. Tokyo was Japan's capital city but other areas would not be left out of the transformation. In July 1964, the world's fastest rail network was unveiled. Capable of carrying people from Tokyo to Osaka in just three hours, the Shinkansen would begin passenger services right before the beginning of the games in October. As a sign of the rapid development of the country, this was a feat of engineering which would allow the intrepid Japanese office lady to skip work for the day, visit her boyfriend in Kyoto for lunch, after that visit some temples, and easily return home by 8.30pm, then 'with a look of innocence, give the excuse of overtime work before joining in her sister's birthday party'.[47]

The shrinking of the country through the development of world-leading Japanese technology made travelling around the country much easier. At the same time the lifting of restrictions on foreign travel brought the world closer through the popular media. Up to the mid-1960s it was unusual for Japanese to travel abroad. Passports were valid for only one trip, there was a $500 limit on the amount of money

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[46]'Yume no Kindai Toshi Tokyo Shin-chizu', *Shūkan Heibon*, August 27th 1964, p. 97. The airport as a transport hub and space of consumer culture echoed Osaka entrepreneur Kobayashi Ichizō's 1929 department store. Situated by the main Osaka station, it sold a similar dream to city dwellers with a family restaurant and a rooftop amusement area providing leisure activities for the entire family. See Sato, The New Japanese Woman, p. 35.
[47]'Yume no Chōtokkyū wa Itsu Hashiru!?' *Shūkan Heibon*, January 23rd 1964, p. 111.

that could be taken out of the country, and the Ministry of Finance had to approve the trip. Tourism was not usually considered a valid reason. In any case the cost of travel was prohibitively expensive for most Japanese so that even when restrictions were lifted in 1964 only 15.1% of overseas Japanese travellers were classed as tourists.[48] Nevertheless, by the year of the Tokyo Olympics, magazines such as *Fujin Kōron, Shūkan Heibon*, and *Heibon Punch* were promoting not only tourism, but living and working abroad. In September 1964, *Fujin Kōron* published an article on Japanese women working abroad.

According to the magazine, it was a reality that the 'number of women saying "whatever the city, whatever the job I want to try working abroad"' was increasing. The article explained which countries were the best for Japanese women seeking work (Argentina and Brazil if they learnt the language) and which would be difficult (Soviet Bloc countries of course).[49] *Shūkan Heibon* celebrated the luxury of life in Sydney where 'at the age of twenty there were typists who earn 80,000 Yen per month'. Not only that, the population was a fifth of Tokyo's and 'even at the young age of twenty, around the average age to marry, it is normal for a standard middle-class household to own their own house and car'.[50] In January 1964, the magazine published a travel essay by Kanetaka Kaoru a Tokyo Broadcasting Services (KBS) TV presenter. 'Kanetaka Kaoru's World Travels' predicted that 1964 would be a boom year for travelling abroad.[51] Then in May 1964, the magazine published a travel guide for those readers who were 'fed up with living in small Japan'.[52] The world was

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[48] Lonny E. Carlile, 'Economic Development and the Evolution of Overseas Tourism, 1964-1994', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 2(1), 1996, pp. 11-18.
[49] 'Sekai wa Nihon Josei wo Matometeiru,' *Fujin Kōron*, September 1964.
[50] 'Kaigai Rupo: Hatachi de Gesshu Hachi-man Yen no Taipisto mo Iru', *Shūkan Heibon*, June 18th 1964, pp. 90-93.
[51] 'Kanetaka Kaoru no Sekai no Tabi,' *Shūkan Heibon*, January 9th 1964, pp. 54-59.
[52] 'Kaigai Ryokō no Pin kara Kiri Made,' *Shūkan Heibon*, May 14th 1964, pp. 109-114. Karen Kelsky has outlined the ways in which gender has shaped the binary of the 'West' and 'Japan' through the increasing openness of young Japanese women to travelling, working and living abroad. This imperative is situated in women's exclusion from family and corporate structures in postwar Japan. Their position allows them an adaptability and openness that means they can 'quickly mold themselves to the expectations of the Other' and 'they respond to exclusion by creating an internationalist identity.' The magazines noted above provide evidence of Kelsky's point that images of the West are 'sold' to women through the lure of glittering global careers, lifestyles and romances. Yet, this discourse is dependant on a larger discourse of modernity and progress that gained prominence during the period of this thesis. Whilst Kelsky's discussion is contemporary, seeing the economic power of Japan in the 1980s and 1990s as empowering 'highly educated middle-class Japanese women …to imagine and pursue, their own self-interest beyond Japan's borders', magazines aimed at young working women in the late 1950s and 1960s often

getting smaller and easier to navigate. At the same time, readers of *Fujin Kōron* were urged not to look for cultural differences and 'see the world as one place, like going from Kyushu to Tokyo'. Air travel had transformed the globe in the same way as the Shinkansen had transformed Japan. 'From Tokyo to Kyushu takes 20 hours, on a jet you can be in America in the same time. And Europe too'.[53] The world was shrinking, and Japan's young people were urged to look at the world beyond their country's borders.

In May 1964, *Heibon Punch* also published a special article on the art of budget travel for young Japanese men. The article noted that with the liberalisation of travel restrictions the 'hearts of young people were bursting'. It promised advice on topics from 'women to toilets' by four people who had successfully travelled on a shoestring budget. An accompanying column explained how to save money by staying in Youth Hostels in Europe or the YMCA in the US After listing the average prices in the red light districts of several countries — Greece, Turkey and Pakistan — unemployed twenty-five year old Tonegawa Masakasu offered his advice to those planning to travel. He urged those who were no good at languages not to travel, and those with a lot of money to stay and travel within Japan. Anybody who did plan to travel abroad should 'shed their consciousness of being Japanese' and travel as 'so-called human beings'.[54]

Opening up culturally to the world was also important for Hayashi Shūji writing in *Fujin Kōron*. In an article in February 1964, Hayashi hoped to encourage Japanese women to travel more. At the same time, he raised criticisms of the nature of consumption in Japan and compared it negatively with Western Europe. Through the article, Hayashi sought to address the questions 'What is Western Europe?' and 'What kind of thinking governs the daily life of the people of Western Europe?' He also sought to decipher exactly what it was that Western Europe really meant at a time when the Japanese government claimed that their country was on a par with Western

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featured debate and discussion of the possibilities and attractions of living abroad. Such a discourse could become a reality for larger numbers of women in the 1980s and 1990s, but the internationalisation of Japanese women was part and parcel of the process of re-making ideas of nation in the context of the nurturing of a consumer society in the postwar period. See Karen Kelsky, *Women on the Verge: Japanese women, Western dreams* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 9-17.

[53] 'Sekai wa Nihon Josei wo Matometeiru,' *Fujin Kōron*, September 1964.

[54] 'Jiyu-ka de Geki Zō Shita Musen Ryokō no Wakamono-tachi', *Shūkan Heibon*, May 11th 1964, pp. 106-109.

Europe at least economically. Travel to Europe was becoming cheaper for Japanese tourists, and Hayashi recounted meeting a Japanese woman in Heidelberg who was travelling around on only three dollars a day. The woman did not speak German, so in Hayashi's opinion the trip must have been difficult, but more freedom to travel would mean more people being able to gain this kind of experience. 'Touching deeply embedded Christian culture and monuments, seeing the remains of the development of civic culture' was all necessary in order 'to make Japanese people into world people'.[55] Despite what the Japanese government said, Hayashi saw Europe as a cheap place to live, work, and travel, and in contrast the cost of living and travelling in Japan was very expensive. The reason for this difference in living costs was cultural, according to Hayashi, and it was very evident in the significant differences in the modes and means of consumption that existed between Europe, and the US and Japan.

Japan's main experience of foreign culture had come through the US-led Occupation, and as a result, in Hayashi's opinion, America was the only developed culture the Japanese people knew. In the US and Japan waste was natural, but in Europe Hayashi believed people were more careful in not throwing things away. The obvious example in Japan was housing. 'In Japan if you live in a house for 50 years it is no longer habitable, but in Europe they last for many years'.[56] Paris was a fantastic example of this, where, according to the author, Montmartre was in the same condition as when it was first built in the 19th century. London was much the same, and the London Underground, built almost one hundred years before, still served the 1964 rush hour. For Hayashi the lesson was obvious, 'if it is built, build it well and then use it for as long as possible'. Life was 'cheaper' in Europe because people placed more value on what they owned. In contrast, the problem in Japan was the adoption of an American attitude to everyday consumer society.

For Japanese people to live at the same level as the people of Western Europe, to 'have central heating, eat luxurious high-calorie food, wear Italian shoes and

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[55] Hayashi Shūji, 'Josei Seiyō no Michi', *Fujin Kōron*, February 1964, pp. 110-119. The similarity to the emphasis on 'touching (fureau) nature and tradition' for the Japanese to 'discover themselves as Japanese' in the 'Discover Japan' campaign of the 1970s is striking. As Marilyn Ivy points out, the campaign appealed to nostalgia and a search for origins in response to their antithesis 'Americanised rationalism and materialism'. Ivy, Discourses of the Vanishing, pp 42-43. In the early 1960s, the emphasis was on participation in a 'global modernity' and foreign travel and foreign lifestyles became important in the popular magazines covered in this thesis.
[56] Ibid, p. 117.

English clothes', they 'would probably need four or five times the lifestyle costs of today'.[57] Housing costs were more expensive in Japan, but watches, clothes, stationery, leather goods, jewellery and other goods were also more expensive in Japan. In a consumer society this meant that Western Europe was a much cheaper place to live than Japan. For Hayashi, things became more expensive if other people did them for you, and this was a fundamental part of the culture of consumption in Japan. Ignoring the fact that labour costs were much lower in Japan, when travelling in Europe Hayashi's advice to Japanese people was simple, 'drive the car yourself, stay in a *pension*, wash your own clothes and eat in self-service restaurants'. Japanese people thought Europe was expensive because they tried to travel like they did in Japan. The economic philosophy of a developed country (*senshin koku*) was simple in Hayashi's opinion: 'it becomes more expensive if someone else does it for you'. Japanese consumer society had developed on the basis of cheap labour and that had brought about a culture of service where everyday tasks were paid for.[58] The implication was that Japan, through its somewhat different culture of consumption, was not yet among the ranks of the developed countries (*senshin koku)*.

Another difference between Japan and Europe centred on the concept of a 'European independent spirit'. Hayashi claimed that while people in Europe would deal with problems themselves, the Japanese in comparison lacked initiative and always found it necessary to rely on officials. Japan's approach to solving problems was to create more bureaucrats, and this cost the people in tax. In Western Europe such problems were always sorted out independently. In Japan, because Japanese people were 'always meddling in others' affairs', people didn't care about causing other people inconvenience and so they didn't try to solve issues amongst themselves. This led to a situation where the Japanese government treated the people like children, while in Western Europe they were treated like adults. Everyone was free to decide the best way to live but, Hayashi insisted, 'if you don't treat people like adults there will be no independence. In Europe the independence which is at the base of democracy runs deep'.[59] Japan's citizens lacked an independent approach to taking

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[57] Ibid, p. 115.
[58] Ibid. See Partner, Assembled in Japan, for a discussion of the prevalence of cheap labour and its effect on the nature of the consumer culture that emerged in the early 1960s.
[59] Hayashi, 'Josei Seiyō no Michi', p. 113.

their civic responsibilities seriously, and the high cost of living stemmed not only from the government's economic policies but from a backward culture of waste.

Hayashi's evidence came from his experience travelling on a train in Western Europe. As a non-smoker he took a seat in a compartment with six other people. During the journey one man 'forgetting he was in a non-smoking compartment lit a cigarette. Very quickly an old woman sitting next me scolded him'. The smoker apologised for being rude, claiming he had not realised the compartment was non-smoking, and put out the cigarette. According to Hayashi, neither the old woman nor the man looked annoyed and were perfectly relaxed with one another, 'it was a pleasing scene'.[60] In Japan, the economic insecurity and inequalities brought about through the policy of high-speed growth were reflected in personal and civic insecurities compounded by cultural modes of consumption. This cultural explanation, when Japan was compared to what were clearly considered 'developed countries,' went beyond the economic though, pointing to broader problems of democratic accountability and individual independence. The Japanese had been rendered culturally insecure by such rapid alterations to their country's economy. This social insecurity was reflected at the individual level in lack of initiative and lack of confidence in personal situations. Tying the problems of the cost of everyday life to a culture which was not yet the culture of an 'advanced country' neatly deflected attention from the policies of the Japanese government and the political nature of high-speed growth.

Sadly for Hayashi, although the government claimed Japan was becoming like Europe, in reality that day was still very far away. Japan was closer to Europe's past than its present, and the deep gulf between the two was clear. At least by going abroad and gaining experience of the world Hayashi hoped that Japanese women might change 'their thinking, their learning of housework, their means of putting themselves in society'.[61] Importantly, Hayashi's trip of discovery was about building a Japanese identity which could be part of a global modernity that would help those Japanese lucky enough to be able to travel to Europe to understand the importance of democracy and civil society, and also the value of culture. *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* celebrated the new opportunities for travel and presented the world as a place

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[60] Ibid, p. 118.
[61] Ibid, p. 119.

of excitement in which Japanese people could take advantage of their new-found freedom to shed their cultural inhibitions and live as a 'human being'. The readers of *Fujin Kōron* were urged to view the opening up of the country as an opportunity for reflection and cultural critique, setting themselves and their ideas of Japan into a universal (though western) global modernity. The magazines encouraged readers to celebrate how much Japan had achieved through its economic development, but at the same time they stressed the need to learn how to live better and offered glimpses of a future Japan. The debate in the popular media offered 'the enticement of modern democratic access to global pleasures such as tourism'.[62] Domestic travel companies expanding their own tour packages during the early 1960s followed the images of modern lifestyles as epitomised by the air hostess.[63] Yet, this was not just happening at international levels. The changing landscape of Tokyo offered the vision of a modern lifestyle much more closely related to the everyday lives of the Japanese.

Domestic ideas of nation often emerged from critiques of the rapid pace of change. The idea that hosting the Olympics and opening up to the world were not necessarily things to be celebrated was made more than clear in an article published in *Fujin Kōron* in August 1964. The eyes of the world were on Japan, and Furugaki Tetsurō described the coming games as a national ordeal which Japan, and particularly Japanese women, would have to pass successfully. All over the world the mood set by the Tokyo Olympics was overwhelming. In France, the US and Europe newspapers, radio, and television programmes were full of special editions about Tokyo, and Japanese cuisine, dance cabaret and restaurants had become fashionable around the world.[64] According to Furugaki, Tokyo would need to prepare to welcome tourists on honeymoon, celebrating silver wedding anniversaries, people celebrating retirement by diving into Japan, and the Japanese people wanted to give them something to remember as a once in a lifetime experience. But the overarching worry was about the reputation of Japan, and 'its position in the world'.

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[62] Christine Yano, 'Jet-Age Nationhood: Pan-American World Airways in Postwar Japan', in Christopher Gerteis and Timothy S. George Eds. *Japan Since 1945: Postwar to Postbubble*, (Lonodn: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 210.
[63] See Ibid and Alissa Freedman, 'Bus Guides Tour National Landscapes', in Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller and Christine R Yano. Eds. *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).
[64] Furugaki Tetsurō, 'Olympic to Nihon Josei', *Fujin Kōron*, August 1964, pp. 62-64. Furugaki had been an ambassador to France between 1956 and 1961 although he was not a career diplomat. He also served as the head of NHK.

This was not simply a problem of changing the landscape of Tokyo and cleaning up the morals of the people in the same way as the public spaces. The real worry for Furugaki was after the visitors had departed. The people 'should think our Olympics begin after the closing ceremony'.[65] From the point of view of the Japanese people, the games themselves were in the author's opinion like a school entrance test. The task for Furugaki was to think about how to pass the test while not forgetting that the real work would only begin after the spectacle of the Olympic Games was over. In this way, like Hayashi, Furugaki saw the Games as a chance for Japan to join the ranks of the advanced countries. The modernisation this entailed, however, was something the country could later come to regret.

Regardless of what happened after the closing ceremony, in preparation for the games Japan was in danger of losing something important. Hayashi Shūji had appealed to Japanese women to go out and discover the basis of individual freedom and sensible patterns of consumption. Furugaki reminded readers of the eve of 'the opening of the country' one hundred years earlier in the Meiji era. In every area of society, politics, economics and manufacturing policies, 'enlightenment and the catchphrase of freedom were put into practice'. At the beginning of the Meiji period, all over Japan but particularly in Tokyo, hotels, bars and restaurants catering for high-class foreign tourists changed the nature of the country's economy. The fear was that the transformation of the country in 1964 would, as happened in the Meiji period, entail the loss of something essential to Japan. Of course, without the familiarity of home-produced goods, services, language and even a recognisable alphabet, foreign guests would feel lost as soon as they stepped from their hotel rooms, yet at some point during their stay they would 'want to eat tasty Japanese food which is close at hand, but without a Japanese person to tell them the best place to go they will be at a loss'.[66]

Tokyo had been 'painted with the brush of the Olympics', a mistake Paris and London had avoided. The traditional Japanese culture, which would have been of interest to the huge numbers of tourists arriving in Japan, had gone. People had not only visited London and Paris to experience the sport, they had also taken in the culture and history of the respective cities. There appeared to be no cultural life in

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

Tokyo as far as Furugaki was concerned; sport and fashion had completely taken over. Furugaki wanted to know where the uniqueness of old Japan, or even of modern Japanese culture and tradition, had gone. Tokyo had completely given itself over to the Olympics. Foreign tourists would not be happy about this in his opinion because they were coming to see Japan. 'The foreign visitors, coming from one hundred and ten countries have different languages, customs, laws, history and traditions we can't reflect them all. But *they* will all want to know about our country'.[67] If Hayashi Shuji hoped Japanese women would go out into the world to learn how to live better, Furugaki hoped that they would save traditional Japan from disappearing. In his opinion it was Japanese women who preserved traditional Japanese virtue. For those foreigners seeking to learn about Japan it would be easier for them to understand Japanese culture through its women.[68] Japanese women were traditionally well-mannered and had the tendency, more than men, to reflect on their weak points. The housewives and young women of Japan could explain Japanese cuisine, art, music, and culture to the world.

Danger within and without

In contrast, other commentators were more worried about the idea of thousands of foreign men learning about Japanese culture from its, 'meek, well mannered, and beautiful women.' In an article entitled *Dangerous Foreigners*, also published in *Fujin Kōron,* Fujiwara Yoshie offered her readers much needed 'advice on how to skilfully get along with foreign men'.[69] She agreed that many foreigners were not only coming to see the Olympic Games. 'Foreigners are thronging. Fujisan can be seen, drunks can be seen and these two things are world famous. But this time one more thing which I think tourists will be particularly interested in is young Japanese women'. It was often argued that Japanese women had become stronger since the end of the war. Nevertheless, Fujiwara pointed out 'our women, as well as still possessing a womanly side, have a character which gives them a double advantage over women

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[67] Ibid, p. 63.
[68] Nishikawa Nagao points out that in the rapid transformation of the Meiji period the home, where the mother dressed in traditional Japanese clothing, was a welcome shelter from the rapid changes of everyday life. See Nishikawa Nagao,'Nihongata Kokumin Kokka no Keisei', in *Bakumatsu Meijiki no Kokumin Kokka Keisei to Bunka Henyō*, (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1995).
[69] Fujiwara Yoshie, 'Abunai Gaijin', *Fujin Kōron*, October 1964.

of other countries'. There was no room for doubt in Fujiwara's mind that 'for men, Japanese women are number one for charm'. This was not a particularly difficult position to achieve according to the author because, unfortunately, in 'foreign countries, even beautiful daughters (young ladies) of 18 or 20 gradually become old, and at around 40 or 50 most of them, just like a tank, become fatter and fatter'. This was also a problem for Japanese women whose partners were foreigners. They were not immune from this sad fate, according to Fujiwara, because 'if their partner is a foreigner (*gaijin*) they develop in the same way'.[70] The attitude of these charming and attractive Japanese women towards foreign men was a big problem.

According to Fujiwara it was 'as if they have an open country policy to foreign men, and as with the popular famous actors, they are all unfortunately admired as being tall and handsome. How will they handle it when tens of thousands of these foreign men descend on Japan? It gives me indigestion to think about it'.[71] The idea, raised by Furugaki, that something unique to Japan would be lost with the coming of the Olympics, and particularly through the reality of foreigners visiting the country in pursuit of an ideal of Eastern Beauty, was for Fujiwara, literally embodied by the danger faced by young Japanese women given the flood of foreign men who would be arriving in the country.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that as the Olympics approached many voices could be heard worrying about Japanese women, Fujiwara herself, regardless of the ample attractions and charms of the nation's womanhood, not to mention their open-arms policy towards foreigners, confessed to being confident that the women of Japan would cope. After defeat in the war, contact with foreigners had increased so Japanese people were much more used to it, and anyway she did not think 'that the visitors coming from far away and having to spend lots of money will be bad people'. The high cost of the airfare from Europe would settle Fujiwara's indigestion by keeping away those 'bad' foreign men with a curiosity in Japanese women. She admitted that 'western' men posed less of a problem. At the end of the day '…if we have to be cautious, it is those close to us from Southeast Asia isn't it? After all the travel cost is cheap and their attitudes are well known'.[72] Japan had as much, if not more, to fear from Asia as from the West. Apart from the natural attractiveness of Japanese women,

[70] Ibid, p. 88.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

the country's traditional customs were part of the problem. Fujiwara noted that Japan had certain customs which demanded that Japanese women should put their heart into whatever men wanted. 'As soon as a man takes out a cigarette they offer him a light, they put sugar in his coffee, help him on with his jacket, give a yukata to a man wearing only underwear'. Foreign men, even the married or attached ones, would be surprised by these actions and it would be only natural that they would think, 'this woman is for sale'.[73]

Worrying that she may be stereotyping foreign men a little too much, or perhaps not enough, Fujiwara felt it necessary to point out that even among Western European men, there were big differences. The 'gentleman' type was to be found in England and America; such men were full of tact and would wait till they passed to turn around and sneak a glance. It was the 'Latin types' that were the most dangerous. 'Italian, Spanish, South American; (these) are the Latin types that will pursue everywhere no matter how far and absolutely never give up'. They would take any chance to start a conversation, 'Excuse me what is the time? Or do you speak English? Can you tell me how to get to…? Will you come and drink tea with me? You are beautiful. I really appreciate Japanese women.' Such men always came across as astonishingly kind and courteous to women, mainly because they had been raised since childhood to see women as weak, and for Fujiwara Japanese women were indeed weak, particularly around alcohol. Fujiwara claimed that in Western Europe women could enjoy alcohol, but for Japanese women this was not the case. The problem was that in a nice bar, with some 'mood music and a sweet cocktail, Japanese women could quickly come to believe they were in love'. Their weakness was even worse when it came to going for a drive. 'Just putting them in the passenger seat of a cool car makes them feel like a queen'.[74] The problem with the 'Latin type' was that they would then try to tempt you to stay overnight. 'It's too late to return, let's stay one night and I will take you back first thing in the morning'. At this point Fujiwara advised readers to call home or ask for a taxi.

In the same 'Olympic special' as Fujiwara's article, thirty people 'from different walks of life' talked to the magazine about their worries about the coming spectacle of the Tokyo Olympic Games. Critic Ishigaki Ayako was, like Fujiwara

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[73] Ibid, p. 90.
[74] Ibid.

Yoshie, also worried about the inability of Japanese people — particularly young women — to say no. She claimed that when spoken to by men Japanese young women would often simply offer a coy smile and whatever the question this reaction would probably be taken to mean yes by the foreign men who descended on Tokyo for the Olympics. Japanese people needed to meet foreigners and clearly be able to say 'no'. Ambiguity and evasion was not the best way to endear foreigners to Japan.[75] Novelist Hirabayashi Taiko was as worried as Fujiwara about the bad foreigners who would arrive in the country looking to deceive Japanese young women. For her another aspect of the problem was that Japanese men lacked etiquette towards Japanese women. Foreign men, on the other hand were good at hiding their inner feelings and putting on appearances.[76] They could not be trusted.

The 'Japanese woman', unable to see the threat, needed to be protected. The purity of all Japanese women was at stake. Yet it was not simply that all foreign men were dangerous and all Japanese women needed to be protected. The real danger for those writing in the middle class magazines such as *Fujin Kōron* probably had more to do with the need to control the behaviour of those readers of magazines such as *Shūkan Heibon*, who were young, single working women who frequented the shopping centres and entertainment districts where visitors from all over the world would be found. As Paul Droubie has pointed out, the leaflets distributed to such women, hotel staff and other service industry workers by the Tokyo Metropolitan government regarding the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases were brushed off as a revival of the 'Black ships danger'. [77] In the middle class magazines the Japanese woman was a symbol of Japanese culture. As in the Meiji period, both were threatened by the arrival of foreigners and the changes wrought on the country in preparation for the Olympics. Furugaki saw purity threatened, and looked back to the Meiji period when the threat of Westernisation also entailed the loss of traditional culture. The rapid modernisation of the high-speed growth era and the welcoming of the world to Tokyo posed the same threat. So while commentators such as Hayashi Shuji saw knowledge of the wider world as essential for Japanese women, and travelling and working abroad appeared to be more common and enticing, others saw

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[75] 'Olympic Watashi no Shimpai', *Fujin Kōron*, October 1964.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Paul Droubie, 'Foreign and Domestic Bodies: Sexual Anxieties and Desires at the Tokyo Olympics', in Tsutsui and Baskett Eds, The East Asian Olympiads, pp. 77-86.

the shrinking of the world as dangerous and focused on the negative aspects of the coming Olympic Games. Yet this fear was also grounded in the emergence of a class of young, female workers literally buying into the national ideal of a consumer culture.

In this context, the weekly magazine *Shūkan Heibon*, aimed at younger and mainly single women, was a little less worried about the problem posed by foreign men, suggesting that talking to foreigners was a great way to gain knowledge about the world. The magazine even encouraged its readers to actively seek out foreigners to speak to. 'If you have a chance to have a conversation with a foreigner, or if you optimistically make your own opportunity to get acquainted with a foreigner, through these exchanges young women can get the knowledge of the real world that they need'. The readers should not complain that they lacked the opportunity to talk to foreigners — everybody would have the chance. Japanese people should have will and pride, 'and warmly welcome our guests from afar'.[78] The magazine urged its readers to approach lost foreign tourists at train stations or department stores. When visiting temples, explaining things about Japan would make the tourists very happy. As an American teacher at the Patricia Charm School pointed out, it was usually male students and young businessmen who talked to foreigners. Young women may feel embarrassed, but they should find the courage to strike up a conversation. Questions such as 'How do you like this country?' and 'Is it your first visit to this country?' as well as 'How do you like the food here?' would be the ideal way to break the ice.

However, it was important to avoid being ambiguous in conversation with these foreign visitors. According to Mizawa-san, a tour guide for foreigners, being ambiguous was the biggest mistake. In her opinion when you meet foreigners 'if you say yes or no clearly there should be no excuse for misunderstanding'. Lynda Beech, possibly the most famous American woman in Japan, cautioned readers on how to dress. Fluent in Japanese and known to millions as the star of the late 50s early 60s TV hit *Blue Eyes Tokyo Diary* in which she played an inept American woman living in Tokyo, Beech offered readers the valuable insight of a 'Western' woman.[79] She

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[78] 'Anshin Shite Gaijin to Tsukiau', *Shūkan Heibon*, 23rd April 1964, pp. 88-92.
[79] See http://www.talkingstoryhawaii.com/special-issue/blue-eyes-tokyo-diary-linda-beech/; http://www.suntimes.com/news/obituaries/10520709-418/starred-in-the-i-love-lucy-of-japan.html (accessed 31st March 2013); Jayson Makoto Chun, *A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots: A Social History of Japanese Television 1953-1973*, (London: Routledge, 2006) pp. 284-286.

informed readers that if women wore a low cut dress with lots of jewellery in the morning they would be thought of as cheap. She also advised caution when dealing with foreign men, and warned readers against going anywhere on a date where there would be no other people present. Not because foreign men were any different from Japanese men though, after all 'If you walk together in the park late at night it's the same danger as walking with a Japanese man … when you go out to the cinema there will be no mistakes'.

A good example of how to stay safe while meeting foreigners was set by Imamura Reiko (22), who worked for a trading company. At work she knew one foreign gentleman who was 'very gentlemanly and very kind', nevertheless whenever she met him in the evenings outside of work she always made sure to invite along another female friend. Readers needed to bear in mind that foreign men were great at offering compliments and Japanese women must avoid being taken in by them. 'Foreigners will constantly flatter you with phrases like "your eyes are beautiful, your hair is fantastic", indeed many foreign men considered it rude not to compliment a woman.' An anonymous, presumably Japanese man, referred to only as A-shi (29), who had experience of living in a foreign country working for a trading company, echoed Fujiwara's fears over the 'open door policy' of Japanese women towards foreign men stating that 'because there are not many foreigners in Japan they are valued highly and there are many women who want to become good at dating foreigners (*gaijin*)'. Japanese women had to remember that there were 'many awful *gaijin* with no education'. A-shi feared that Japanese women who were not used to being 'spoken to sweetly will be excited by this, won't they?' Nevertheless, the readers of *Shūkan Heibon* had less to fear than those of *Fujin Kōron*, as the article asked it readers: 'are they bad foreigners? That depends on your behaviour'.[80]

The young men of Tokyo on the other hand, could look forward to the adventure of a Tokyo night scene that had become internationalised. In September 1964, *Heibon Punch* featured an article which, under a photo of a smiling young blonde woman dining with two Japanese men, explained that dating 'beautiful blondes' was no longer a just a dream. Tokyo was a cosmopolitan city and the opportunities for young Japanese men to 'associate' with beautiful foreign women had rapidly increased. After the appearance of Ai George at Carnegie Hall and the

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[80] 'Anshin Shite Gaijin to Tsukiau', *Shūkan Heibon*, 23rd April 1964, p. 92.

success of Astro Boy in the United States the increasing number of flights between the United States and Japan brought an influx of stewardesses who, coming to Japan more than ten times a year 'probably lose the normal, everyday sense of virtue'. Women from all over the world were in Tokyo and the possibilities for dating them were huge. The problem according to one American woman was: 'Japanese men may be very shy…nobody has asked me for a date. I wonder whether I am attractive or not…'[81] For foreign men inviting women on a date was common etiquette and the stewardesses in Tokyo were waiting for Japanese men to make similar moves.

As one American put it 'among our friends there are very few Japanese men. I have been married for two years already but my body is my body and I want to enjoy adventures, yet I feel bored as soon as I touch down at Haneda…I always wonder is there nothing more to do than go shopping in the department stores, go to my hotel room and read…Japan is the most boring place…I wonder why…' The availability and sexualisation of foreign women went hand in hand with the fears over predatory foreign men and the weakness of Japanese women. Of course it was not only the showgirls and the airhostesses that provided the aspiring young man about town with the opportunity for fun with a foreign lady. The rise in tourists offered the perfect chance to 'catch a foreigner' and waiting around the hotels would pay dividends in that respect. The young female tourists would, according to the magazine, be very grateful for anyone offering information on the customs of Japan, explaining the rules of Judo and following up with 'how about a dinner tonight?' was sure to end in success. As a page from 'P Hotel' in Akasaka put it 'if you are looking for a one night stand there are many housewives in tour groups'.[82] But as the magazine explained, these older ladies were usually attracted to the luggage-carrying bell boy so, for the readers of *Heibon Punch* it was the groups of young athletes about to descend on the cosmopolitan city who were the best targets.[83]

While middle class readers were urged to see young Japanese women as weak and under threat, young working female readers of *Shūkan Heibon* were encouraged to associate with the tourists coming to Tokyo and take responsibility for their own

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[81] 'Kokusai teki ni natta "Tokyo no Yoru" no abanchūru', *Heibon Punch*, 14th September 1964, pp. 40-43.
[82] Ibid, p. 41.
[83] As Paul Droubie points out the media discourse most often sexualised the foreign, female, athletic body. Droubie, 'Foreign and Domestic Bodies', p. 82. Although in the pages of *Heibon Punch* it was the sexual availability of the foreign tourists which was emphasised.

actions and safety. The Tokyo Metropolitan Welfare Division's 1964 Handbook for Young Women also warned of the dangers posed by foreign men, and this became a recurring theme in the mass media.[84] But the focus in *Shūkan Heibon* was on how to date a foreigner, and often emphasised the differences between Japanese men and foreign ones. Foreign men were always polite and knew how to 'act like a gentleman.' While the more middle class journals and magazines fretted over the threat, it was not their readers, the middle class housewives of *Fujin Kōron* for example who were personally under that threat. For the young, free and moderately well off working woman, the Olympics was an opportunity. The worker at the Imperial Hotel who referred to the Tokyo Metropolitan government's pamphlet as 'nothing more than a black ship uproar' no doubt felt the same way about articles by Furugaki and the opinions of Fujiwara and others.[85] Clearly, in the eyes of some commentators, the huge number of foreign men who would arrive in Tokyo for the Olympic Games posed a danger to young Japanese women. Just like their country, Japanese women were easily susceptible to misunderstanding and being misunderstood. The obsession with the experience and safety of Japanese women during the games was a metaphor for the nation as a whole, but the mixed reactions to the coming of large numbers of foreign tourists and the danger they posed to Japanese women also reflected the differing experiences off consumer culture.

Opening the System

As Yoshimi Shunya has argued, by the mid-1960s Japan's consumer lifestyle was no longer mediated by America. By the time of the Tokyo Olympics, the emphasis had shifted to a unique or authentic Japanese quality to consumer goods.[86] This search for Japanese-ness was by no means restricted to household appliances, or the three sacred treasures. Many everyday items were discussed in relation to quality and price and, as domestic demand grew, in comparison to those produced abroad. Because the economic changes under the Prime Ministerial leadership of Ikeda Hayato required an opening up of the Japanese economy, by the mid-1960s Japanese people had a greater

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Yoshimi, 'Consuming America, Producing Japan', pp. 79-82. Yoshimi discusses this only in relation to electronic consumer items.

exposure to foreign-produced goods and services. Yet these foreign goods were often quite expensive compared to their Japanese equivalents.

The magazine *Fujin Kōron* published a special section in July 1964 under the sub-heading 'As we move towards a more open system our lifestyles are undergoing big changes'.[87] Daimon Kazuki, a professor at Kanto Gakuen University, discussed the prevalence of foreign made goods in Japanese shops. There had been dramatic changes in the shopping centres of Japan. In those areas given over to imported items in the large department stores, the goods being sold were gradually becoming more luxurious, and even in small shops it was becoming normal to see lots of foreign made goods lined up. As Daimon pointed out, there was no doubt that in Japan imported goods were 'gradually beginning to widen their presence in the everyday life of the people (*nihonjin no seikatsu*)'. Imports had been steadily increasing, and compared with 1959, golf goods, toys, toothbrushes and instant coffee had increased by between 40 and 60 times. Imports of cigarette lighters had risen by 300 times, and mechanical pencils 100 times.[88]

The usual assumption among Japanese people was that these foreign made goods were of better quality than those produced domestically. It was hard to dispute that Swiss watches and Italian shoes both had a very high quality image. But Daimon questioned if they really were so much better in quality and hoped, by introducing the results of a survey commissioned by the magazine, to 'get a true sense of the value of foreign made and domestically produced goods', adding, 'we are at a stage where we have to decide which is more important — the price or the quality?' According to the survey, which asked 200 people to rate the quality of thirty three different items, the domestically produced goods which were favoured over foreign ones were cameras, tobacco, soap, vegetables, fruit, televisions, radios and sewing machines. The razor was rated number one among foreign made goods and the camera number one among domestically produced goods. Cameras came out on top for domestically produced goods as seventy-two versus ten of the respondents agreed that Japanese cameras were well made. Daimon concurred with this result pointing out that two thirds of the stock of the number one US camera retailer, Willoughby's, was produced in Japan. Thanks in part to the advent of hire purchase and the desire for fashionable cheap

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[87] 'Jiyū-ka Jidai no Josei no Chie,' *Fujin Kōron*, No 578, July 1964, p. 118.
[88] Daimon Kazuki, 'Kokkusan Hin to Hakurai Hin Dochira ga Yoi ka?', *Fujin Kōron*, No 578, July 1964.

clothes among young single women in the cities, Japanese-made sewing machines had overtaken US products as the most preferred among housewives. Indeed the sewing machine was fast becoming 'number one among presents bought by tourists coming to Japan'.[89]

Tests were carried out on both foreign and domestic goods in order to ascertain the differences, if any, in quality. Daimon claimed that, in cutting paper, there was no difference between foreign made and domestically made razors, concluding that Gillette's success was based purely on the company's good reputation, much of which was simply down to the amount of money spent on advertising. As for English wool, tests for strength, stains, and stretching showed it was not 'significantly better' than Japanese wool, and unfortunately for the Swiss, the results for watches were evenly split. Those people who preferred foreign watches touted the 'accuracy and design' as the selling point, but many people found domestic watches 'cheap and efficient.' Cars were also closely split, at 22-20. Those who preferred foreign cars cited good design, but also the fact that they had 'good quality parts so they last forever'. Domestically produced cars were 'good for bad roads' and 'easy to get repaired,' but given that the roads in Tokyo were being rapidly improved Daimon predicted that 'the value of foreign cars will increase'. Among those goods favoured by women, make-up raised a few interesting problems. According to most women who preferred Japanese make-up, the reason was that it was more suited to Japanese skin. According to Daimon this advertising ruse by the domestic manufacturers riled the foreign make-up producers. 'Japanese make-up suits Japanese skin, but if we ask foreign manufacturers they get angry and storm out saying "please ask a doctor"'. Like make-up, domestic butter suited the Japanese according to the respondents, though the writer admitted it was impossible to objectively test these things 'as we can only rely on the subjectivity of the individual person'.[90] There were economic considerations to take into account though.

The Japanese admired foreign goods as intrinsically better. At the same time Japanese brands were considered weak. Domestic companies did not spend a lot of money establishing their brand but 'buying the trust in the company' was more important for consumers than the products themselves. A low level of domestic brand

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[89] Ibid, p. 119; Gordon, Fabricating Consumers, pp. 151-186.
[90] Ibid, pp. 121-122.

awareness, brought about by a lack of spending by Japanese companies, meant that foreign manufacturers 'loved' the Japanese market.[91] This comparison of foreign and domestic goods necessitated a value judgment based on numerous cultural considerations, and there was no doubt that the Japanese people were facing more and more opportunities to make such judgements. The huge amount of foreign products for sale in the department stores and the debate over buying foreign or domestic, were a symptom of the economic liberalisation of the Japanese economy.

The opportunities for comparison between Japanese and foreign goods helped to bring about a 'Japanese' consumer society which further distanced the Japan of the mid-1960s from the previous decade. By the time of the Tokyo Olympics, a strong sense of pride in products 'made in Japan' was emerging domestically. Ideas of nation could begin to focus on a lived consumer lifestyle which was as much Japanese as Western. The changing lifestyle choices of young Japanese were an important aspect of the physical changes taking place as a result of the redevelopment of Tokyo in preparation for the Olympic Games. These changes transformed the lifestyle horizons of the readers of magazines such as *Fujin Kōron*, *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*, as the opening up of the country economically was mirrored by the opening up to the outside world which the hosting of the games would entail.

High-Speed Growth and Standards of Living

Visible changes in the landscape of Japan and a welcome rise in living standards were naturally seen by many Japanese and much of the popular media as signs that the country had overcome the worst of the post-war deprivations and was on course to join the ranks of the 'advanced countries' once again. The Japanese government had released an economic white paper in 1964 claiming that as far as living standards were concerned, Japan was now on a par with Western Europe. Yet the idea of high-speed growth and the obsession with the opinions of foreigners were not without their problems and critics.

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[91] Ibid. In her study of consumer nationalism in South Korea, Laura C. Nelson notes how the 1988 Olympics in Seoul brought an increased supply of imported consumer goods to local markets, which linked South Koreans to the rest of the world and broadened their knowledge of the lifestyles of other people. At the same time, she points out that these goods could be seen as a potentially dangerous infiltration of 'South Korean space'. See Laura C. Nelson, *Measured Excess: Status, Gender, and Consumer Nationalism in South Korea*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 22.

Rising prices fuelling increased living costs were a concern in 1964 for housewives' magazine *Fujin Kōron.* The magazine published a 'Focus of the Month' discussion in March, under the headline *High Speed Growth and National Lifestyle* (*Kōdo Seichō Seisaku to Kokumin Seikatsu*.)[92] Then in the August edition an article by Sumiko Takahara set out to explain the reasons for the rising cost of living.[93] The sub-heading of the March article raised the question: 'how long will the worrying increase in the cost of living continue?' Tokyo University professor and management guru Hayashi Shūji began a round table debate by pointing out that although the Japanese economy was pursuing a policy of high-speed economic growth, opinion was divided over whether this was a good thing, with some people arguing that the policy had already gone too far.

For Sumiko Takahara, writing in August, there was a contradiction in the government's economic liberalisation plans that came as part and parcel of the policy of high speed growth. The aim of lowering the cost of living was not properly being met and, for Takahara, lemons were a case in point. 'In the meals in our house there has been a "lemon revolution". Thanks to liberalisation the cost of one lemon has gone down from 70-80 yen to 30 yen'. This drastic price drop meant that the author's fridge was full of lemons and she had become particularly skilled at slicing them thinly. Unfortunately, the preponderance of lemons had not made balancing the household budget any the easier. On the contrary, 'I don't think the reduction in the price of lemons has been of any use in reducing the cost of living'. In Takahara's opinion, the reduction in the price of lemons, as well as the reduction in the price of new cars, was of no consequence. They were not necessary for everyday life, but the price of essential items such as rice, milk, and utility charges was continuing to rise.[94]

According to a recent poll conducted by the *Asahi Shimbun*, 22 per cent of housewives had responded that prices were increasing faster than earnings and this was making life difficult for them. The Ikeda cabinet had begun moving away from the idea of focusing solely on the high-speed development of the economy and had recently touted the term 'welfare state.' While high-speed development was fundamentally production-centred economics, the concept of a welfare state was a form of economics based on the prosperity of the Japanese people. For its critics

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[92] 'Kongetsu no Shōten: Kōdo Seichō Seisaku to Kokumin Seikatsu', *Fujin Kōron*, March 1964.
[93] Sumiko Takahara, 'Bukka wa Naze Agaru', *Fujin Kōron*, August 1964.
[94] Ibid, p. 57.

though, the government was not tackling rising prices, which were having the most serious impact on the welfare of the Japanese people. In Takahara's opinion, the government needed not only to preach about administering consumption but also to set to work 'earnestly doing something about it'.[95] As the Olympics approached, the contradictions between the government's promotion of high-speed economic growth and its promotion of a consumer-driven mass economy were becoming apparent.

Recently, Japan had risen to fourth in the world in terms of its production of manufactured goods, and it was hard to deny that the focus on production to bring about high-speed economic growth had been successful. The country was behind only America, the UK and West Germany in production, and in the March edition of *Fujin Kōron*, the Economic Planning Agency's Sakisaka Masao proudly pointed out that even in foreign countries people were 'surprised by the development of the Japanese economy'. The country was still in the process of catching up with Western Europe, and in this respect, Japan was still young, but it was for this reason, in Sakisaka's opinion, that the policy of rapid economic development was the right one if Japan was to become part of the developed world. The Japanese people needed to keep faith with the government's plans. Moreover, the political realm was not the only driving force behind this policy of rapid economic growth. According to Sakisaka, Japanese private companies had 'grown a lot in recent years.'[96] Nevertheless, inflation was causing problems for the everyday life of the Japanese people.

Hayashi Shūji conceded that without the government's policy there would have been no improvement in the livelihood of the people (*kokumin seikatsu*). But he also pointed out that the policy had at the same time brought much upset. Rising prices were not always matched by rising wages. According to Yamamoto Susumu of *the Economist*, it was the middle-classes who were the worst affected. A shortage of labour in Japan meant that starting wages for young Japanese workers were rising quite rapidly, and that rise in income had a knock-on effect on the cost of living for everybody. It had the most severe effect on older workers, however.[97] Even Sakisaka admitted that the shortage of labour could have future problems of inequality, problems which would directly affect the middle-classes.

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[95] Ibid, p. 63.
[96] 'Kongetsu no Shōten: Kōdo Seichō Seisaku to Kokumin Seikatsu', *Fujin Kōron*, No 574, March 1964.
[97] Ibid, p. 80.

The wages of public officials and salarymen were declining in real terms, while the policies of economic growth were leading to an increase in wages for factory workers, who tended to be younger and generally not from middle class backgrounds. Sakisaka insisted, however, that because Japanese income had been half that of Western Europe it was necessary for the country to develop at a fairly quick pace. This development was, as Sakisaka pointed out, creating a class of young consumers apart from the traditional university educated middle classes. By the time of the Tokyo Olympics, broader ideas of nation strongly linked to the growth of consumer culture put forward in the popular magazines came to appeal to these young factory workers who were uninhibited by the political projections of middle class intellectuals in the 'general interest' highbrow magazines such as *Sekai* and *Chūō Kōron,* which had dominated the discourse in the early 1950s.

Yamamoto Susumu went further in criticising the inequalities brought about by the policy of high-speed growth. He claimed that for most people in the cities, it appeared that the only thing the policy had brought was higher rent and house prices, resulting in a higher cost of living. 'There is no feeling of stability in Japan's present economic situation. Just saying "please wait a moment and everything will come good", somehow does not have any persuasive power, and it is pretty awful as a [government] policy'.[98] Indeed, for Nakamura Takafusa, the fact that in the midst of the consumer revolution the Japanese people were the biggest savers in the world proved that there was no feeling of stability. As prices continued to rise, people only saved more money, and this fact clearly indicated the fear of instability that the government's policy had created. The newly published weekly men's magazine *Heibon Punch* took a satirical approach to this problem when, on the *Punch* survey page, a letter purportedly from a Tokyo Housewife, claimed that buying land was impossible and infuriating, 'you save money it goes up, you save money it goes up…what is the best thing to do!'[99]

Far from transforming and uplifting the hearts of the people, for many commentators the policy of high-speed economic growth and the positioning of the 'consumer as King' brought more worries and greater inequality. For some commentators it was the aping of American ideas of consumption that caused

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[98] Ibid.
[99] 'Punch-kun no Seiron Chōsa,' *Heibon Punch*, May 11th 1964.

insecurity and fear of instability. Economist and Tokyo University President Ōkōchi Kazuo claimed that as Japan approached the standard of living of America, Japanese people were adopting the same patterns of consumption as the American middle classes. 'It is not that you freely choose to buy what you like when you like…You are forced to live and spend within the system of production'.[100] Constantly having to buy new products in a consumer driven modern economy led to insecurity and rising prices. Ōkōchi was involved in the activities of the Japan Productivity Centre, which had played a role in introducing and promoting the pursuit of a consumer driven economy. He played an important role in developing production ideas which aimed to provide higher wages for large numbers of people, 'and revenues for reinvestment through expanded export opportunities' as a means of tackling the problem of the 'dual economy'.[101] For many intellectuals, the goals of reforming the two-tier economy and raising wages for the lowest paid were wiped out by the increased economic instability and higher prices for everyday essentials.

By 1964, rapid economic development was becoming problematic. Buying more expensive and better quality goods was no problem for the upper classes, who could decide how to spend their money. Even Daimon Kazuki, in his comparison of foreign and domestic goods, saw potential problems when the middle classes became attracted to these things. 'All sorts of foreign goods are allowed to come and satisfy the appetites of Japanese people, but if there is no wise choice the liberalisation which promises happiness in everyday life risks the danger of having the opposite effect'. For Daimon, Japan was the victim of its own economic success. Liberalisation had brought many foreign goods to the market, and Japan's growing purchasing power had made the foreign manufacturers 'mouths water.'[102] Hayashi Shūji saw similar problems with the pattern of consumption in Japan. While admitting in *Fujin Kōron* that economic development in Japan enabled Japanese people to experience more of the world, he nevertheless indirectly criticised the growing pattern of consumption in

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[100] Ōkōchi Kazuo, 'Bōkoku Ishiki Kokufuku e no Ashiba,' *Fujin Kōron*, May 1964. This of course was precisely the goal of thinkers such as Tobata Seichi and the JPC who had spent time promoting the mass economy in the late 1950s and early 1960s.
[101] Laura Hein, *Reasonable Men Powerful Words*, p. 151.
[102] Daimon, 'Kokkusan Hin to Hakurai Hin', p. 122.

Japan, unfavourably comparing it with Western Europe, which was cheaper and retained more of its cultural and historical character.[103]

What the debate and discourse made clear, by the time the world arrived in Tokyo for the Olympic Games, was the necessity for a 'Japanese' consumerism. This would provide a cultural explanation which could disavow the overtly political and clearly subordinate relationship underpinning Japan's adoption of an economic model fuelled by mass consumption and the social changes that entailed. At the same time, the United States could retreat from the scene in Asia as Japan came to serve as a role model for a 'Free Asia.' As the young factory workers or the readers of *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* saw their wages increase and found in consumer society the cultural capital necessary for a stake in that society, a generation of Japanese born after the devastation of 1945 could identify with the ideal of an independent Japan acting as a 'bridge between East and West'. Yet as the economy continued to grow rapidly and society became more and more structured, the contradictions of the country's position became more and more evident. With the growing emphasis on consumption in the popular media, *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* reflected a youth culture which sought to reject the structured nature of Japanese society yet struggled to escape the everyday life of consumer society.

[103] Hayashi, 'Josei Seiyō no Michi'.

Chapter 5

A Mad Age?

'Isn't it hard to find a reason to be angry in Japan today…? If Japan's young writers are writing angry novels it is simply because anger has become a commodity.'

Ooya Soichi.[1]

Following the resignation of Prime Minister Kishi after the forced ratification of the US-Japan Security Treaty in June 1960, Ikeda Hayato's government set out to re-establish the centrality of the Diet in politics, improve public welfare and raise the people's standard of living.[2] Announcing his Income Doubling Plan at the end of 1960, Ikeda promised tax reductions, improved welfare and public works projects. The shift in emphasis helped to associate the government with the economic growth Japan had achieved since the mid-1950s. At the same time, the government could take advantage of these transformations 'to ease and displace the memory of naked state force and thwarted demands for democratic participation'.[3] As shown in previous chapters, the inherently unequal and subordinate political and economic relationship between Japan and America became depoliticised through the juxtaposition of the two countries in the popular media's promotion of a consumer society. The explicit connection of ideas of Japan to domestic consumption, which was tied to American military and economic power, was one more assault on popular sovereignty.[4] What gradually emerged formed the basis of a depoliticised cultural nationalism that could appeal, through the growing popular media, to a younger generation of workers and students experiencing the alienation of life in the cities.

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[1] 'Okori no Supotsu', *Mainichi Graph*, January 31st, 1960, pp. 8-10.
[2] Fuji Shoichi and Oe Shinobu Eds, *Sengo Nihon no Rekishi Vol 2*, (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1970), p. 131, Oguma, Eiji, *1968*, *Vol 1: Wakamonotachi no Hanran to Sono Haikei*, (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2009), pp. 25-34.
[3] William Marotti. *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 139.
[4] Guy Lasko, *Mishima Yukio Vs. Todai Zenkyōtō: The Cultural Displacement of Politics*, Working Papers in Asian/Pacific Studies, 95-02, p. 9.

For many journalists and commentators writing in the popular media, ANPO was a social movement that played a large role in bringing about the political subjectivity of young Japanese.[5] For a few weeks in May and June 1960, divisions between class, gender and the generations had appeared negligible.[6] Workers came out on strike and onto the streets, joining students and housewives to protest the renewal of the Security Treaty. Even though many protesters were acting independently and from a sense of individual concern at the actions of the Kishi government, the very fact that people had come together in such large numbers was viewed as a success for democracy by many progressive thinkers. As Wesley Sasaki-Uemura has pointed out, 'the protests forced the ruling Liberal Democratic Party to give up the confrontational tactics it had employed' and made clear the popular desire for retaining the reforms of the Occupation era.[7] For Maruyama Masao, the protest movement helped to indigenise democracy in postwar Japan. It was clear evidence that the 1946 constitution had at last become an established part of people's lives.[8] Takeuchi Yoshimi lamented 1960 as a failed revolution, but he nevertheless optimistically believed ANPO to be the pivotal moment when large numbers of Japanese people 'picked up democracy' and came together as citizens.[9] For Takabatake Michitoshi, the protests marked a new form of civic resistance, and philosopher Kuno Osamu 'triumphantly announced the formation of a civic ethos'.[10] Yet at the same time, through its actions in passing the revised ANPO treaty in face of popular opposition, the government had destroyed the function of the Diet and left protest as the only recourse of the people.[11]

The 'ANPO struggle' appeared to have begun as structured, ideological left wing agitation led by student groups and the unions working together, and the Kishi government came to portray them as a tide of humanity, or a 'violent, irrational mob'.

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[5] Ōi Koichi, *Rokujūnen Anpo Media ni Arawareta Image Tosō*, (Tokyo, Keishobo, 2010), p. 23.
[6] Fanziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005*, (Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 176.
[7] Sasaki-Uemura, Organising the spontaneous, p. 17.
[8] Karube Tadashi, *Maruyama Masao and the Fate of Liberalism in Twentieth-Century Japan*, (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2008), pp. 145-146.
[9] Rikki Kersten, 'The Intellectual Culture of Postwar Japan and the 1968-69 University of Tokyo Struggles: Repositioning the Self in Postwar Thought', *Social Science Japan Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2009, pp. 232-240; Lawrence Olson, *Ambivalent Moderns Portraits of Japanese Cultural Identity*, (Savage, Bowman and Littlefield, 1992), p. 70, pp. 93-96.
[10] Simon Andrew Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010), p. 63.
[11] Sasaki-Uemura, Organising the Spontaneous, p. 153.

Yet after the forced ratification vote on May 20th, small-scale movements came together to join the larger protests. On a human scale the demonstrators were 'conscious actors with diverse points of view,'[12] and for many historians the failure of the anti-treaty protests brought about the end of a united left. As Simon Avenell has pointed out, the ANPO struggle 'marked the end of Japan's brief (1958-1960) postwar flurry with national mobilizations' and also marked the peak of organised intellectual influence over mass political movements.[13] Yet the emergence of these 'New Left' movements would come to define the social issues of the next decade,[14] despite the fact that the leftist campaign against the treaty had always taken a multi-faceted stance, with different left wing organisations instructed to support the campaign in ways suited to their own special concerns.[15] During the mid-1960s, the concept of the citizen as the key actor in the public sphere was to become useful to social movements, after ANPO came to employ this 'more encompassing, less ideological term to appeal for support'.[16] Importantly though, ANPO was about ordinary people deciphering the ways in which political engagement related to daily life, the nation and democracy.[17] As has been shown, this played out against the background of an increasingly consumer-driven society.

It was the students, as the 'shock troops' of the left, who had helped keep the Security Treaty issue in the popular consciousness throughout the negotiations of the late 1950s.[18] While the split between student movements and the established political parties has been overplayed,[19] criticism of established politics deeply affected young Japanese people. For Yoshimoto Takaaki, it was not the political groups leading the ANPO protests that embodied democratic subjectivity. Throughout, the communists 'stood in the middle, dividing the people like a shrewish hag from an old-fashioned household, throwing a wet blanket on creativity and spontaneity'.[20] The apolitical,

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[12] Ibid, pp. 19-21.
[13] Avenell, Making Japanese Citizens, p. 63.
[14] Fukashiro Junrō, 'The New Left', *Japan Quarterly*, Jan 1, 1970, p. 17, p. 1.
[15] Packard, Protest in Tokyo, p. 134.
[16] Sasaki-Uemrua, Organising the Spontaneous, p. 211.
[17] Avenell, Making Japanese Citizens, p. 64.
[18] Ellis S. Kraus, *Japanese Radicals Revisited: Student Protest in Postwar Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) pp. 4-5.
[19] Ando Takemasa, *Japan's New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 55-56.
[20] Yoshimoto Takaaki quoted in Peter G. Kelman, *Protesting the National Identity: The Cultures of Protest in 1960s Japan*, (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Sydney, 2001), p. 278.

self-interested masses going about their everyday lives were the locus of true subjectivity (*Shutaisei*). The privatisation of postwar Japanese society and its increasing distance from politics had not led to the apathy that some intellectuals had feared during the emergence of mass society in the late 1950s.[21] For Yoshimoto, the treaty crisis was evidence that privatisation was the basis of postwar protest because thousands of ordinary students and citizens came on to the streets to make their feelings known.[22]

During the 1960s then, there was a growing feeling that the students had been let down by the intellectuals and the leaders of the left. But at the same time, the growth of consumer society as presented in the popular media worked to de-politicise subjectivity in favour of consumerism as the mark of a modern, democratic society. Although the ANPO struggle was a significant issue for the unions between 1958 and 1960, work and wages remained the focus of the majority of the 20,000 unions affiliated with Sōhyō.[23] Naturally, throughout the 1950s and 1960s the unions demonstrated their overwhelming concern for the economic well-being of their members.[24] As noted in Chapter 4, the joint efforts of the US and Japanese business and government elites under the auspices of the Japan Productivity Center focused social institutions around consumer-led economic growth. But changes in everyday life brought about by the Japanese government's economic policies to promote high speed economic growth required the creation of a technical elite; the development of a technically advanced economy called for educated white collar workers.

In this context, university students during the 1960s became what Ōno Tsutomu called 'a reserve army of salarymen'.[25] The increasing competitiveness of education and the channelling of students into technical subjects brought about a backlash against the standardisation and mechanisation of work and education.[26] In the view of many young people, state control over national institutions increased 'the insidious nature of the academic industrial complex'.[27] Indeed, by mid-1969 protesting high school students bluntly bemoaned the fact that 'the Japanese capitalist

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[21] Oguma, Minshu to Aikoku, pp. 555-558.
[22] Olson, Ambivalent Moderns, pp. 95.
[23] Gerteis, Gender Struggles, p. 187.
[24] Takemasa Ando, *Japan's New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society*, 2013, pp. 55-68.
[25] Cited in Krauss, Student Radicals, p. 89.
[26] Oguma, Eiji, 1968 Vol 1, pp. 39-60, p. 67.
[27] Yasko, 'Mishima Yukio Vs. Todai Zenkyoto', p. 7.

system underpins high school education'.[28] Student movements in Japan were attempting to assert control over the power structures of everyday life and became 'very much part of an international movement focused on the defence of the self'.[29] At the same time, those involved in the protests experienced that self, as well as everyday life, within the context of the growing mass media and its emphasis on consumerism.

As Jurgen Habermas pointed out in relation to the student movement in Germany, '…all motivations of a society based on status competition become especially dubious in a social environment in which the young…encounter reality only through the filter of consumer orientations and mass media'.[30] In Japan, students and intellectuals pressed notions of the authenticity of the everyday in order to combat the alienation brought about by increasing rationalisation of politics and daily life. Yet as Marilyn Ivy has shown, constructions of authenticity are 'a modern endeavour' caught up in the historical conditions they hope to escape.[31] At the same time, as Guy Yasko points out, in the postwar period as the political shrank in relation to the economic sphere, some attempted to critique that process by moving into the field of culture, mainly because conservative supporters of the state and those in the 'New Left' 'had pushed their domain into new realms with state-sponsored consumerism'.[32]

At the very moment when culture became political, the political nature of the economic was being effaced by consumer society. This process came together in popular culture and the growth of popular weekly and monthly magazines aimed at young people, which from the late 1950s altered the very nature of cultural critique of the American-led political economy of Japan. By the late 1960s, 'the ethnographic populism of Yanagita in the study of popular culture literally and figuratively spoke for consumerism'.[33] As shown in the previous chapter, high-speed economic growth had literally paved over the folkways of the major Japanese cities and tied this transformation to new ways of living. Such economic and social changes were not restricted to Japan, and clearly formed part of a postwar transformation of values

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[28] 'Gebaruto Kōkōsei', *Heibon Punch*, April 14th 1969, p. 49.
[29] Kersten, 'The Intellectual Culture', p. 235.
[30] Jurgen Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 32.
[31] Ivy, Discourses of the Vanishing, p. 241.
[32] Yasko, 'Mishima Yukio Vs. Todai Zenkyōtō', p. 9.
[33] Ibid, p. 12.

dependant on and reflected in the Cold War free world rhetoric of international power politics.

As William Marotti has made clear, in 1968 'the spectacle of mass protest made visible the international, shared nature of the political imperatives of the moment, and promoted the possibilities of direct action'.[34] The increasing intensity of the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s connected student movements in France, Germany, and Japan to the international situation and helped fuel a belief in the efficacy of violence against the state among student leaders in Japan.[35] The fight for national independence, epitomised in the popular media by the war in Vietnam, was juxtaposed against the domestic struggle of individual young people for their own independence in an increasingly structured and unified social system. For students across the developed world the symbolic importance of the Vietnam War lay in its role in making evident that society, apparently driven by emancipatory norms and with the potential for their realisation, had actually 'widened the gap between industrial and developing nations, exporting misery and military violence along with mass hygiene'.[36] As the student protests grew more intense and more violent, public sympathy for the students and their tactics increased as a result of media coverage. In Japan this was part of a wider recognition that Japan had become a developed country and was complicit in, and profiting from, the continuation of the war. From the mid-1960s, wider social questioning of the role of Japan in Vietnam exposed the contradictions of economic growth and further undermined the developmentalist nationalism of the early postwar period. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

This chapter, after outlining the context and the nature of the protests, will show the ways in which the popular media worked to depoliticise and deradicalise the student movement by tying the protesters themselves into consumer culture and the development of capitalism. The chapter will go on to show how this discussion was juxtaposed with wider issues of the time. The instability and unpredictability of the US role in the region, evident in the escalation of the Vietnam War, came to the fore and ultimately led to a sense of ironic, individual detachment towards the very issues

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[34] William Marotti, 'Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theatre of Protest', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (February 2009), p. 97.
[35] Ross, May 68, pp. 80-81; Oguma Eiji, 1968 Vol 1, pp. 60-67.
[36] Habermas, Towards a Rational Society, p. 25.

being fought out on the streets and in the media. The media encouraged a sense of distance and powerlessness, which was in many ways an important element in the development of postwar consumer society. Within this process, and in large part as a result of the Tokyo Olympics, what Oguma Eiji terms 'unconscious nationalism' reflected the ambiguous nature of ideas of nation.[37] The harsh examination system for entry into university allowed the university to become a place detached from the formal rules of society, and this also worked to depoliticise the majority of young students.

As Donald Wheeler has noted, the first student movements in the early 1950s had a strong orientation towards serving society and worked to defend 'peace and democracy' by rejecting the return to positions of power of militarists and imperialists seen as responsible for leading Japan into war. In the late 1950s and early 60s the movements questioned the established political structure. By the late 1960s, their orientation was increasingly dominated by 'play', as they looked inward in order to question their own role in the structure of capitalist domination in postwar Japan.[38] This introspection was an important element of the student movement and often the cause of the serious violence carried out by certain sects.[39] The radical students saw the need to examine their own elite consciousness as members of a privileged class within Japanese society, and to challenge their own personal role in perpetuating the system. Yet in the popular media journalists and commentators reintegrated that challenge into the system, and magazines such as *Heibon Punch* offered a place of ironic detachment whilst firmly tying its readers into the consumer driven society many of them were violently protesting against. In this way, by framing the everyday lives of the Japanese people around the overarching nature of state driven consumption, the media co-opted protest against the state by transforming anger into apathy and trivialising the issues being fought out on the streets as selfish youthful individualism.

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[37] Oguma, 'Minshu' to 'Aikoku', p. 555.
[38] Donald F. Wheeler, *The Japanese Student Movement: Value Politics, Student Politics and the Tokyo University Struggle*, (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1974,) p. 10.
[39] Patricia Steinhoff, 'Hijackers, Bombers and Ban Robbers: Managerial Style in the Japanese Red Army', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, no. 4, (Nov 1989), pp. 724-740.

Angry Young People

During the 1960s, student protests in South Korea succeeded in bringing down the government of Synghman Ree. Elsewhere, protesters were killed by police in Mexico, causing the near cancellation of the 1968 Olympics, and there were student protests in Turkey, the United States, Germany, Canada and France. As Toyomasa Fuse put it, student radicalism was 'fast becoming institutionalised' across the world. Nowhere was this more evident 'than in Japan, where student radicalism constitutes one of the three top priorities in national politics'.[40] Certainly in the Japanese mass media of the 1960s young Japanese people were very angry. Oguma Eiji has argued that the idea of a late 60s 'cultural revolution' fuelling student protests is somewhat of a myth. The Beatles' generation came late to Japan and blue jeans were not evident until the late 1960s. In any case, the students preferred jazz to rock and roll.[41] Yet this comment misses the connection between the political and consumer culture in Japan and the rest of the free world. Indeed, in France after the events of May 1968, the myth of change in cultural consciousness served to obscure the fundamental basis of the protest movements.[42]

As Sakamoto Hiroshi has recently pointed out, in Japan an elite bias in studies of the 1950s and 1960s has worked in the same way in relation to the 'problem of young people'.[43] Nevertheless, according to an editorial in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* at the start of the decade, like the Angry Young Men of England, the Beat Generation in America and the New Wave movement in France 'fleeing from the anxieties of the present in jazz and sex' the anger of some young Japanese was a form of 'anarchism'. Epitomised in Japan by the student movement *Zengakuren*, the *Kaminari* Tribe, and

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[40] Fuse Toyomasa, 'Student Radicalism in Japan: A "Cultural Revolution"?' *Comparative Education Review*, Vol 13, No. 3 (Oct 1969), p. 325.

[41] Oguma, 1968 Vol. 1, pp. 75-90. In this context Mikiko Tachi has described how folk music in Japan was taken up by university students as a positive means of identification with white, middle-class America rather than a means of political protest. This contrasted with what she terms 'proletarian folk singers', yet both groups focused on domestic issues rather than seeing in the folk scene an opportunity for international communication. See Mikiko Tachi, *The Folk Music Revival Then and Now: Politics, Commercialism and Authenticity in Folk Music Communities in the U.S and Japan*, (unpublished PhD dissertation Brown University, 2009), pp. 85-152. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s there was a lot of attention paid by *Heibon Punch* and *Shūkan Heibon* to visits to Japan by anti-Vietnam War activists such as Jane Fonda and Howard Zinn. The meetings they attended very often took place in the same clubs and cafes that hosted the performances of the folk musicians.

[42] Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*, 2002.

[43] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *[Heibon] no Jidai: 1950nen no Taishū Goraku Zashii to Wakamonotachi*, 2009, pp. 32-38.

through the writings of Ishihara Shintaro and Oe Kenzaburo this younger generation accepted no responsibility for the direction in which the world was heading. Their hope was that by refusing the order of Japanese society and Japanese tradition 'something new would be born'.[44] The angry young men of the late 1950s were a product of 'the social and cultural transformations associated with high growth capitalism, liberal democracy, nuclear tensions and anti-communism'.[45] Whilst they brought their anger to the fore in their literary and intellectual writings, as a commodity in Oya Soichi's terms, by the late 1960s a new generation vented their frustrations in radical violence.

On 17th November 1969 Satō Eisaku, the Japanese Prime Minister and younger brother of Kishi Nobusuke, boarded a Japan Airlines flight at Haneda airport. Satō was heading to Washington for a meeting with President Nixon to discuss the security treaty between their two countries. The circumstances of his departure echoed in many ways that of his brother ten years earlier, when protests and demonstrations turned violent as student groups attempted to prevent the prime minister from leaving. In November 1969, the only people present at the airport to witness Satō's departure were 'riot police, journalists, airline workers, and a few members of the government and LDP'.[46] Across Japan, 50,000 uniformed and plain clothes police officers had been deployed in readiness for this single event. According to one journalist, the pre-departure mood was 'just like before a civil war'.[47] Over the night of the 16th –17th November, over 1,700 people were taken into police custody, a number which remains the largest arrest in postwar history.[48] According to the young men's magazine *Heibon Punch,* the Prime Minister's plane left at 10.04am but 5000 riot police had been waiting at the airport since the day before. The airport, which was closed to all air traffic both domestic and international from 8am on the morning of the prime minister's departure, was a fortress.

The precautions taken when Satō left for Washington in 1969 were no overreaction. Journalistic talk of civil war may have appeared to be a throwaway

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[44] 'Henshū Techō', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 15th 1960.
[45] Ann Sherif, 'The Aesthetics of Speed and the Illogicality of Politics: Ishihara Shintaro's Literary Debut', *Japan Forum*, 17:2, 2005, p. 187.
[46] '11.17: Haneda', *Heibon Punch*, December 1st 1969, p. 30.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Lawrence W. Beer, 'Japan 1969: "My Homeism" and Political Struggle', Asian Survey, Vol 10, No 1 (Jan 1970), p. 47.

remark, but one year previously *Heibon Punch* had reported on running battles in and around Shinjuku station in Tokyo. From 9pm to midnight on October 21st 1968, students and 'the onlookers following them had the platform at Shinjuku station all to themselves'. Train seats were torn out and set on fire, glass was broken. As the busiest train station in the country was trashed, in the surrounding streets cars were set ablaze and a police box was burned down with a Molotov cocktail. In the magazine's opinion, 'the people who probably felt worst on this night were the workers at the station'. Indeed the station announcers repeated warnings in 'a pained voice' that being on the track was dangerous fell on deaf ears.[49]

Outside the station, way before the fighting began, Oda Makoto, the leader of the Anti-Vietnam War movement *Beiheiren,* implored people to 'take a look at the riot police. They are holding truncheons for beating people and are surrounding us. Is this the face of Japan, a supposedly peaceful country?' On an 'anti-war day' when, according to police estimates 170,000 people attended 270 rallies nationwide, 60,000 commuters 'stood by as riot police stormed the barricades and finally subdued the radicals after midnight with hoses and tear gas'.[50] But if the unfortunate workers and commuters at Shinjuku station were taken aback by the violence of what was happening on that night in October 1968, it was not for want of media coverage of violent protest. The end of 1967, and the whole of 1968, had witnessed violent clashes between student groups and riot police, and also clashes among student groups.

Violent attempts by students to stop Satō leaving Haneda airport in 1967 had twice brought the issue of violence between protesters and riot police into the mainstream media (the so-called Haneda Incidents). On the 8th October, members of *Zengakuren,* the largest association of student groups[51] forcibly tried to prevent Satō leaving for a trip to Southeast Asia. In the protests surrounding the departure one

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[49] 'Zoom up: Tokushū', *Heibon Punch*, November 4th 1968, p. 42.
[50] Thomas Havens, *Fire Across the Sea: the Vietnam War and Japan 1965-1975*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 169-170.
[51] Zengakuren is the abbreviation for the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations formed in 1947. Mainly Communist in orientation the federation has been riven by splits and in-fighting since at least the late 1950s. According to Tsurumi Kazuko writing in 1970, 'the Dictionary of the Student Movement, published in July I969, listed about 40 anti-Communist Party sects and factions, and one affiliated to the Communist Party**'.** See Tsurumi Kazuko, 'Some Comments on the Japanese Student Movement in the Sixties', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Generations in Conflict (1970). Also see Shimbori Michiya, 'Zengakuren: a Japanese Case Study of a Student Political Movement', *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Spring, 1964) for a sociological examination of the make-up of the student groups in mid-1960s Japan and an attempt to account for their growing power.

student, Yamazaki Hiroaki, died. One month later, as the Prime Minister prepared to leave for the United States he was again met with violent protests. On November 11th, seventy-three year old Tadanoshin Yui set himself on fire outside the prime minister's house in protest at the War in Vietnam, where he believed the United States was repeating the mistakes Japan itself had made in China during the Second World War. Yui died in hospital shortly before 4pm the next day, just five minutes before the prime minister's jet took off from Haneda airport for Washington.

The riot police expected trouble and were well prepared for protests against the Prime Minister's departure. They surrounded the airport with 7,000 officers carrying large duralumin shields and quantities of tear gas. 'Twenty police boats patrolled nearby rivers, canals, and sections of Tokyo Bay, and helicopters were deployed overhead'. Meanwhile 'the Liberal Democrats assembled 1,600 youths wearing blue ribbons and waving small Japanese flags to bid Satō farewell from the roof of the terminal building'. Not far from the airport, 'about 3,000 students from the anti-JCP (Japan Communist Party) factions of *Zengakuren* fought the police with stones and staves near Ōtorii station, resulting in more than 500 injuries and 300 arrests'.[52]

As the year-end approached, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* explained that the Haneda incidents were not just student protests. They were tied up with large-scale opposition protests over 'autonomy for universities, our country's policy towards Vietnam as well as the security problem'.[53] The result of the two incidents at Haneda airport in 1967 though, was not only the virtual lockdown of the airport when the Prime Minister left for Washington in November 1969, but also the prevalence in the media of images of violent clashes between students and riot police and a broad ranging discussion over who was responsible.[54]

Following the 1967 Haneda Incidents, 1968 began with clashes between *Sampa Rengō* students 'armed with helmets, shields and poles, and rocks' and armed riot police brought in to protect the US naval base at Sasebo. Over four days of fighting, 62 students were arrested and more than 200 were injured.[55] Violence on both sides was notable, prompting one concerned reader, a doctor from Shinjuku, to

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[52]Havens, Fire Across the Sea, p. 137.
[53]'Shashin de Miru', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 25th December 1967.
[54] For a discussion of this see Marotti, 'Japan 1968'.
[55]Ibid, p. 332.

write to the *Yomiuri Shimbun* that in his opinion 'rather than a force to protect the people (*kokumin*) (the police) gave the impression, just like *Zengakuren*, of being a fearsome group quick to turn violent'.[56] The October 1968 clashes at Shinjuku station were just a small part of a massive nationwide demonstration against the Vietnam War, and the students themselves were merely the most physical aspect of this. By the summer of 1969, protests in Japan against the war in Vietnam had reached a new level. The largest New Left rally took place in Hibiya Park in June with almost 70,000 people present, and the October 21st protests drew nearly half a million people across the country. The student-led violence of October 1969 was far worse than the year previously, and a new record for postwar arrests was achieved — a record, which, as noted above, was broken a week later when Satō left for Washington.

Between 1967 and 1970, the magazine *Fujin Kōron* carried many articles and special sections attempting to understand or explain the reasons for the students' violent protests.[57] The Vietnam War and the Japanese state's deep involvement in American Imperialism were noted. In April 1968, Shimada Kazuko, a first year student at Hosei University, explained that the trigger for her involvement was 'making Japan a nuclear armed country and a state which participated in the Vietnam War through the docking of the Enterprise (at Sasebo)'.[58] In a round table discussion in the January 1969 issue, when asked why they used violence, student 'D' explained that 'violent students (*Bōryoku Gakusei*) is not the label we ourselves use. It's a word used by those in power because it is convenient. It's a campaign of bourgeois journalism'. When asked who the enemy was 'C' explained 'the whole of Imperialism. Some people will say that American imperialism is the enemy. That is not correct. If we say that, it implies there is good and bad imperialism. That's too vague'. 'E' took a more anarchic stance claiming that 'for the people the enemy is everything that oppresses. If I want to do something and somebody is against it they

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[56] 'Dokusha no Ran', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 21st 1968.
[57] For example, 'Naze Watashi wa Kodō Suru no ka', April, 1968, Vol. 53, No 4, pp. 96-101; 'Tokyo Daigaku no Seishun', June 1968, Vol. 53, No. 6, pp. 132-135; 'Bari ha Yureteita', July 1968, Vol. 53, No. 7, pp. 100-105; 'Zengakuren Iinchō wa ko Kangaetiru', August 1968, Vol. 53, No. 8, pp. 134-141 'Gakusei wa Naze Tatakau no ka', January 1969, Vol. 54, no 1, pp. 100-143; 'Watashi ni tote Daigauku Tōso to wa nani ka', July 1969, Vol. 54, No 7; pp. 96-101; 'Kōkkōsei ga Ima Kangaetiru Koto', December 1969, Vol. 53, No. 12, pp. 88-93; 'Bakuhatsu Suru Kōkōsei pawa', December 1969, Vol. 54, No 12, pp. 152-157.
[58] Shimada Kazuko, 'Naze Watashi wa Kodō Suru no ka', *Fujin Kōron*, April 1968, Vol. 53, No. 4, p. 99.

are the enemy'. For 'F' the enemy was rather more abstract, 'for me the enemy is oneself personally'.[59] As Riki Kersten has noted with respect to Todai, the students, 'with the prospect of a glorious future ahead of them merely because they had been accepted as students there, in 1968 began to ask themselves whether they were personally complicit in the inequality and exploitation that pervaded a Japanese society drunk on rapid and high economic growth'.[60] This critique was one the media immediately latched onto and used to deflect the power of the protest movement, and would ultimately help to channel the overtly political issues of the student and anti-war protests into wider concerns related to the 'problems of youth'.

Yet, in January 1968, Sociologist Sakuta Keiichi of Kyoto University urged the readers of *Fujin Kōron* to look for wider elements of the roots of the violence. Adults needed to try harder to understand Japanese young people. Sakuta noted that no age group looked inside themselves more than the young. The discourse of anger and violence used in the popular media to define the students risked simply equating their protests with gangsterism. The heroism of the students, as people willing to turn their internal frustrations outwards and take on the power of the state assumed a one to one correlation between the internal and the external. For most people, internal thought leads directly to external action. So when students charged at riot police with wooden sticks the students came to see themselves as heroic, putting their emotions into their actions when they took on the riot police.[61] This type of 'psychological' explanation was common in the newspapers, but it disgusted Sakuta. The heroism of doing things other people could not do was 'mob heroism', but the students needed to be seen as different from the mob to be truly understood. The political issue of the Japanese government's support for the Vietnam War, along with the increasingly competitive education system and its failings, were beside the point. 'As far as horizontal relations between people and group relations are concerned, competition and the aim of cooperating only in order to win have developed immensely in this society'.[62] The deepening of competition and the weakening of the bonds of cooperation were caused by the development of postwar capitalism.

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[59] 'Barikedo wo Koete', *Fujin Kōron*, January 1969, Vol. 54, No. 1, pp. 100-101, pp. 106-107.
[60] Kersten, 'The Intellectual Culture', pp. 235-237.
[61] Sakuta Keiichi, 'Gakusei wa Bōsō ni Arazu', *Fujin Kōron,* January 1968, p. 92.
[62] Ibid, p. 95.

Sakuta examined a note by Yamasaki Hiroaki, the student who had been killed in the protests at Haneda airport. In it Yamasaki claimed he was 'fundamentally a pacifist' and saw this as a negative thing, explaining that although he was 'a weak human being…all humans are weak'. The important thing was for human beings to exert themselves, to impose themselves on the world. In Sakuta's view, these sentences could only have been written 'by an introspective person negative about himself'. Such people had interiorised the guilt of society and needed to throw themselves up against that society just to reaffirm their existence. Some students could not explain their radical behaviour. But in terms of the social conditions that influenced them, the Japanese government was far from neutral in Sakuta's opinion. 'The fact that they [the Japanese government] have chosen to stand only on the side of the Americans' was one of the conditions which affected the consciousness of Japanese young people.[63] Capitalism had weakened the bonds of cooperation as it promoted competition, and students and young people had internalised this ethic of competition more than any other section of society. At the same time, the older generation no longer listened to or cared about what the young people thought. Sakuta believed 'we need to look closely at the idea that external problems are external and internal problems are internal.'[64]

International War and International Lifestyles

The magazine *Heibon Punch* neatly tied the international to the psychological difficulties of adjusting to the social and economic changes that many commentators and journalists saw as driving the student protests. On August 26th 1968, the fourth anniversary of its debut publication, the magazine announced the results of a readers' poll to find 'Mr International'. In an important indication of the connection between the national and international, and the growth of a consumer society in Japan, the magazine teamed up with the Japanese company National to attract its readers to vote.[65] 184,471 votes were cast and French President Charles De Gaulle overwhelmingly took first place, with 52, 833 votes. David Condè, a special

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, p. 97.
[65] National was the brand name of what is today known as Panasonic. It was used as the brand for electrical and personal appliances produced by Matsushita Electrical Corporation founded by Matsushita Konnosuke. In the 1950s and 1960s it was, by dint of its advertising strategies, possibly the most famous brand in Japan.

correspondent for the political magazine Canadian Forum, celebrated the choice of the French president. For him it demonstrated that the readers of *Heibon Punch* realised De Gaulle's international importance. The General 'carried the spirit of national independence (*minzoku dokuritsu*)' in an international arena dominated by the United States.

Although there was a somewhat old-fashioned nature about the former General, Condè praised his role in standing up for the sovereignty and determination of small countries such as 'France, Vietnam and Japan' in their partnership with the powerful United States. 'As a champion of national independence he will probably continue to be a hero fighting for real independence'.[66] Condè avoided any mention of the French colonial experience in Southeast Asia or indeed the protest movements of May 1968 in France, which had emerged directly out of protests against French government colonial policy in Algeria.[67] Nevertheless, the overwhelming victory of De Gaulle and the third place given to Ho Chi Minh reflected the growing centrality of the Vietnam War, and possibly anti-Americanism, to the everyday lives of young people in Japan. The readers' positive linking of two clear political and military enemies clearly reflected the ambiguity and the irony of the French President's position as a promoter of independence for Algeria, and the popularity of his anti-American, pro-European policies.

Second place exposed the social tensions and ambiguities of the domestic situation. The writer Mishima Yukio garnered just half of the tally of De Gaulle with 26,265 votes. Illustrator Yokō Tadanori doubted whether the people who voted for Mishima had 'all read his novels', nevertheless everyone knew he was 'an international man of literature'. Ultimately, the iconic writer offered hope to the magazine's young readers because 'within an increasingly systematised system, at a time of a tendency towards uniformity' Mishima denied the specialists and pressed ahead with his own personal revolution. For this reason he was seen as the ideal cool male. It was 'rare to find a person as egotistical and lacking in the service spirit as Mishima', nevertheless 'his stubborn, deep attachment to his own things may conversely come to be seen as a service'. Furthermore, '(his) individual challenge to the unfathomable possibilities in his universe, and his mysterious behaviour', made

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[66] 'Kore ga Sekai no Besuto Ten da', *Heibon Punch*, August 26 1968, p. 110.
[67] Ross, May 68, pp. 24-27.

him ‘a support to young people of any generation’. Mishima was important to the readers of *Heibon Punch* because he challenged the same transformations in society that the students were protesting. Importantly, Mishima’s revolution was an internal and individual one at a time when the students were also becoming introspective. Although Mishima was a right-wing romantic he was concerned, as were the students, with overcoming the alienation at the root of everyday life. Yet Mishima and his carefully constructed image were very much products of consumer society and neatly demonstrated the interconnectedness of culture, economics and politics.[68] His position in the readers’ poll in *Heibon Punch* reinforced this. It also reinforced the connection between the domestic struggles of the individual against an increasingly systematised society as they played out on the streets of Tokyo and the fight against the neo-imperialism of American involvement in the Vietnam War.

After Ho Chi Minh in 3rd place, fourth-placed Matsushita Konnosuke, founder of the electronics company which traded under the brand name National, stood as a further indication of the importance of consumer society in representing ideas of nation and their boundaries. According to the magazine, he was essential to the times because of his vast business empire which astonished those members of the economic intelligentsia who ‘insisted on the economic assistance of an old power like America’.[69] In building up a successful Japanese electronics empire and almost singlehandedly creating ‘Japanese’ products, Matsushita’s attraction for readers of the magazine was explicitly nationalistic, yet it was more than simply a natural expression of the zeitgeist. National provided 2.3 million Yen worth of goods to be dished out in a prize draw to 1,609 readers who cast their vote. The prizes on offer exposed the priorities at the centre of daily life for the young male readers of the magazine. The ‘National Young man products’ included a luxury nine-piece

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[68] Yasko, Mishima Yukio Vs Todai Zenkyōtō, pp. 7-13. Mishima regularly featured in the magazine from the around 1966 on and was very often pictured in the uniform of his ‘private army’ the Shield Society. Part of his attraction to students may well have been his visibility in just such a magazine as more and more university students began to read it. See Shiine Yamato, *Heibon Punch no Mishima Yukio* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2007). Hisaaki Yamanouchi noted the connection between the political implications of Mishima’s very public suicide in November 1970 after failing to rouse members of the Self-Defence Force to revolution, and the student protesters: ‘despite their different views on such matters as the Imperial authority both Mishima and those students aimed their criticism at the order and prosperity of present-day Japan.’ ‘Mishima Yukio and his Suicide’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1972), p. 1. The irony, of course is that both Mishima and the students were products of this ‘order and prosperity’.

[69] ‘Kore ga Sekai no Besuto Ten da’, pp. 111-112.

collection for lucky winner nineteen year old Yamada-san from Kyoto. This included a stereo, bicycle, transistor television, car stereo, portable television, tape recorder, transistor radio, as well as a trouser press. Second placed twenty-one-year-old Hashimoto-san from Hiroshima received a five piece collection and 23-year-old Oguchi-san from Tokyo a three piece. Five hundred winners received a *Heibon Punch* tiepin and one thousand a *Heibon Punch* handkerchief. The one hundred and six winners of the fourth prize had the opportunity to choose from nine different prizes. Of these only two chose a stereo while twenty-eight chose the trouser press.[70]

Popular consumer culture came together with international politics in the subsequent results of the *Heibon Punch* poll. John Lennon came in 6th place followed by Ishihara Shinatro then Mao Tse Tung in 8th. While De Gaulle offered national independence to the small country standing up to the power and influence of the United States, and Matsushita Konnosuke offered the economic equivalent for Japan, Mishima Yukio offered the individual Japanese a role model challenging the normality of an increasingly standardised society.

A few months after the poll, on November 4th 1968, *Heibon Punch* carried a special section entitled *Mad Age: Mishima Yukio is mad!* Accompanied by a picture of a bare-chested Mishima practicing *Bushidō*, the article proclaimed the advent of a 'Mad Age' in which Japan had been taken over by a 'decadent' (*seikimatsu-teki*) mood. According to the article, this mood had seen the emergence of a new type of person: the 'Mad Man'. As a man in his 40s, who often removed his clothes to pose naked in the popular media, was obsessed with body-building, 'sang love songs on stage' and shared a passionate on-screen kiss with Maruyama Akihiro, Mishima often stood in front of masses of students challenging anyone brave enough to come and kill him. The article left it to the reader to decide if Mishima, rumoured to be Nobel Prize nominated, was 'normal or mad'.[71] The article noted that there was no one who understood the spirit of Bushido as much as Mishima Yukio, but found it very strange how such an authority on the Bushido spirit could act so frivolously. Providing many more examples from popular culture of men in or approaching middle age who did

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[70] Ibid, p. 113.
[71] 'Mishima Yukio wa Kurutteiru', *Heibon Punch*, November 4th 1968. It is interesting to note Hisaaki Yamanouchi's assertion that during Mishima's televised attempts to rouse the SDF members Prime Minister Satō Eisaku commented 'Mishima has gone mad'. See 'Mishima Yukio and his Suicide', p. 1.

not abide by the usual 'value judgments of society', the article presented itself as an urgent inquiry into the state of Japan in the latter part of the 20th century.

For some guidance in understanding the situation, the article interviewed psychologist Tago Akira, who saw the division between ordinary behaviour and strange behaviour as based on the 'variation from a norm'. The problem for Japan in the late 1960s was precisely the lack of normality. Recently, according to Tago, deciding what should be considered 'normal' had become a problem. In Tago's view, 'the value concepts which establish whether behaviour is good or bad' were becoming complicated.[72] The magazine tried to explain this to readers with the rather bizarre medical analogy of dental cavities, because if 'for example we say all Japanese have cavities…it is not the case that all people who don't have a cavity are mad. In this case it is a medically accepted value judgement that it is bad to have a cavity, and this is clearly understood'. Dealing with value judgments of what was mad and what could be considered normal in everyday social interaction was much more difficult in late 20th century Japan, because value judgments were constantly changing with the times.

(Fig. 7.) A MAD AGE, *Heibon Punch* November 4th 1968.

'One summer 23 years ago Japanese people's values changed one hundred and eighty degrees', the article continued. The pace of this change only increased over the intervening quarter century. So while it may have been true that 'looked at in the light of previous social conditions' Mishima was certainly mad, 'at present MAD is normal, so what is normal today is what was MAD in the old days'.[73] Social changes in Japan had destroyed the old values because what the magazine referred to as, 'high-speed mass production' had been

[72] Ibid, p. 36.
[73] Ibid, p. 39.

joined by a 'high-speed information society'. Echoing the argument of Sakuta Keichi in *Fujin Kōron,* the article noted that this acceleration in the pace of social change and in the communication of new social and cultural trends or movements meant that values often taken for granted had to be continually reinvented and reinterpreted. Ideas of nation were not immune to this process of rapid change.

As the magazine made clear with examples from popular culture, people were now stepping onto the stage with 'new values for the twenty-first century'. In order to communicate these values to the masses the article claimed that 'very high speed' would be essential. Communicating with young people using the old-fashioned method of 'not being MAD' would require a lot of time and effort in this new age. Being 'MAD' was now the best way to satisfy people, and TV commercials took it to the limit. According to the article, 'those who use MAD well are the ones who will move the times',[74] and Mishima was one of those rare people who knew how to control his 'MAD'-ness. The present age, in terms of human psychology, was no longer about suppressing deep desires and keeping up appearances. For Tago Akira, people in this new age were, more and more, allowing their suppressed consciousness to take over the superficial appearance of everyday life. Nobody, in the magazines opinion, was more in control of this process than Mishima Yukio.

But the pressing question for young Japanese people was deciding who should judge present day social values such as 'madness' and 'normality' in Japanese society. Who had the right to 'move the times' as *Heibon Punch* put it? The answer was definitely, as far as the November 1968 article was concerned, the masses of young people, particularly young men, at whom the magazine was aimed. The article began by stating, 'here we will begin the trial of the MAD. You read this with the aim of being the jury'. As student violence and anti-war protests raged on the streets and filled the television news, the article concluded with a warning to its readers to 'make a judgment!' If they were unable to decide one way or the other, they would find themselves 'unable to live through the 21st century!'[75] As what defined Japan became increasingly problematic for the young, the rapid changes within Japanese society were complicating ideas of what it meant to be Japanese. The old value systems could not keep up with the growth of a consumer society which constantly altered what was

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid, pp. 34-39.

acceptable and what was unacceptable. Ultimately though, the danger of the unsettled international situation had entered into the everyday lives of young Japanese people, and the growing popular media were representing the ambiguity and ambivalence of ideas of nation in the 1960s.

War and the Importance of Everyday Life

Those readers of *Heibon Punch* who had been able to decide between 'MAD' and normal may have been forgiven for thinking they had wasted their time. 'Tomorrow is Japan's last day', declared a headline in the magazine on January 27th 1969. If Japanese society had become dominated by high speed industrial production and the high speed flow of information and had forced its young people into an existential crisis of social criticism, then all this rushing about could ultimately turn out to have been in vain. The high speed economic growth of the late 1950s and 1960s and the transformation of Tokyo for the international audience watching the 1964 Olympic games were wasted, because, according to Nosaka Akiyuki, there was a very real danger of a nuclear explosion in the capital city and the outbreak of a third world war.

(Fig. 8.) 'Tomorrow is Japan's Last Day', *Heibon Punch*, January 27th 1969.

In the opinion of Nosaka, there was no more dangerous capital city in the world than Tokyo. Anybody who lived in the city but refused to believe this only needed to take a night time drive around to realise that the whole place was surrounded by military bases.[76] It was not only within Japanese society that ideas of normality were being questioned,

[76] Nosaka Akiyuki, 'Ashita wa Nihon Saigo no Hi', *Heibon Punch*, January 27th 1969, p. 50. Nosaka seems to be unaware of the fact that at this time Seoul was a far more heavily militarised city. Of course this could be for literary effect.

the whole world was living through dangerous times, and Japan, particularly its capital city, was right in the firing line. As Nosaka explained 'if there is a split between East and West then there will be explosions, and Tokyo will be the target'.[77] Echoing Richard Nixon's fears of China gaining a 'significant deliverable nuclear capability',[78] and bringing together the insecurities and ambiguities of the international situation of the late 1960s, Nosaka's article was a good reflection of the idea of a 'MAD age'[79] in Japan. Of course, readers of the magazine had no idea of the seriousness of the situation as far as Nosaka was concerned. While they may have kept up with current affairs, knowing all about the attractions of the Crown Prince's wife Michiko, and other incidents regularly flashed up on the TV news, the seriousness of Tokyo's predicament was lost on them.

Most of the daily news on the television and in the newspapers was ultimately trivial, but there was one news story, yet to be broadcast, which Nosaka believed would easily capture the public's imagination: 'the Third World War has broken out!'[80] When the war came the television screen would go blank. Viewers would most probably want to tune in to the state run television channel NHK 'because, like it or not, NHK is the most powerful channel in this situation'. Once tuned in to the stoic NHK, viewers would be able to witness the normally 'happy' news reader give a sorrowful look and announce in a serious voice: 'according to news just in, beginning in Beijing, the principal Chinese cities and industrial areas have suffered a nuclear attack'. In Nosaka's apocalyptic scenario, the stratosphere would rapidly be filled with one ton of TNT for every person on the earth. Traffic regulations would need to be put in place above the earth 'as the multi-coloured nuclear bombs of America, China, the Soviet Union, France, and Britain fly'. New York and Moscow would be fine; if anything as serious as World War Three were to break out, those cities would be the last to be affected. It was Japan, and in particular the residents of Tokyo, who needed to worry.

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[77] Ibid. China had developed an atomic bomb by 1964 and succeeded in detonating a hydrogen bomb in the summer of 1967.
[78] See Richard M. Nixon, 'Asia after Viet Nam', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 46, No 1 (Oct 1967).
[79] The acronym M.A.D also stood for 'Mutually Assured Destruction': the idea that possession of nuclear weapons would prevent the United States and the Soviet Union from going to war because of the potential of those weapons to destroy the planet if used.
[80] 'Ashita wa Nihon Saigo no Hi', p. 50.

But just exactly what were the people of Tokyo supposed to do when the outbreak of the ultimate war jammed up the air space above their city? Thinking about this very fact was itself an important means of coming to terms with the social upheavals of the age of the 'MAD man.' The explosion of just one of the many nuclear bombs in the vast arsenals of the powerful countries would be enough, as Nosaka saw it, to spark another world war. Yet the majority of people did not act as if the end of the world was nigh. The writer took issue with this stupidity: 'The foolishness of the idea that there is a tomorrow! People hoping that the missiles don't fly during the night! Please think about it carefully, who can definitively say that tomorrow is going to come?'[81] With China in possession of nuclear weapons and the escalation of the war in Vietnam with the Tet Offensive, the young men of Tokyo needed to start seriously thinking about the reality of nuclear conflict. The Americans appeared to be losing control of the war and Nosaka's comments no doubt struck a chord with readers as they witnessed the increasing violence of the protests on the streets in Tokyo.

(Fig. 9.) Watching the end of the world.
Heibon Punch, January 27th 1969.

There was no room for complacency. They needed to realise they were in a war, and as 'young men of draft age' they were 'probably nothing more than a defence force for a lonely island discovered by the Americans'. Completely unaware, the young people of Japan passed 'every day in a more and more dangerous situation'. But this was the destiny of small countries like Japan in the present international situation. According to the article, there was nothing readers could do about it because everything was in the hands of those powerful countries that had 'the right to wield the power of life and death thanks to the nuclear weapons they had created'. In Nosaka's opinion, powerful countries no longer had a heart, and it was the smaller countries like Japan, which would be asked, rather eloquently, 'to go first into the darkness'.[82]

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid, p. 51.

The burning question remained as to how readers should face this pessimistic, apocalyptic scenario? The only answer lay in everyday life. Nosaka urged the young men of Japan to 'make life worth living by benefitting from the present'. As the article's headline stated 'the least you can do is forget about tomorrow and make life fresh and vivid today'. Being aware of the fact that nobody could possibly know when a nuclear war might break out presented readers with the obligation to think about what made life worth living. This obligation permeated every level of everyday life, and in order to survive, people needed to live with a Zen-like devotion to the here and now. 'Even if you are working or chatting up a woman, even when you are eating dinner, do it earnestly…If you think you will die tomorrow, all the more feeling will go into being intimate with a woman'. For those who felt they needed no help in the romance department, or even those lacking any courage at all, the feeling of imminent death would allow them to feel as if they could do anything. And they should indeed do anything, as far as Nosaka was concerned. As he helpfully pointed out 'if there is someone you really don't like, today is a good day to smack them one'.[83] People should refuse to be deceived by the trivial distractions that consumed the intellectuals and the highbrow journals like the hundredth anniversary of the Japanese state. Nor should they be won over by the various 'rose coloured visions of the 21st century'. Instead they should take personal satisfaction in getting on with everyday life and doing the things they had always wanted to, because when the end came it would come all too quickly.

'This is a news flash. A missile launched from a 'certain country' is making its way to the Kanto area. It is thought that this missile is a nuclear device armed with two megatons of explosives. To all the inhabitants of the city, to avoid the heat quickly put on white clothes and take shelter. The missile is expected to arrive in 15 minutes 30 seconds…' In Nosaka's opinion, this was the way destiny would play itself out, and it was OK for people not to struggle, fight, or fear. Preparation was far more important. Of course there was a chance that the worst would not happen, but Nosaka insisted that by not thinking about tomorrow, and being well prepared to live today, readers would be able to live a full life. What was more, if they could 'find enlightenment in the idea of death' everything on earth would feel fresh.[84]

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

The rapidly changing social and economic conditions meant that concepts, ideas and beliefs were constantly changing. The contradictions of Japan's position in the international environment — as a peaceful country unwilling and unable to involve itself in military conflict abroad which nevertheless benefitted greatly from the wars carried out in Southeast and East Asia over the previous two decades — were hard to ignore. If Mishima was 'MAD', and 'MAD' was acceptable, it was because the domestic social environment was changing constantly. But so was the international situation, and young people held the key to deciphering rapidly changing social and cultural ideas. In the international environment of the late 1960s, living in the everyday was the best way to approach life when reality and idealism clashed. Cynicism towards ideas of nation came to offer the best means of dealing with these contradictions.

Another Occupation

The laid-back attitude of young Japanese to the dangerous situation in Vietnam was certainly not overestimated by Nosaka. In 1966, novelist and anti-war activist Oda Makoto noted his impressions of the change in attitude of young Japanese towards nationalism. Since 1960, there had been an 'acute change in the consciousness towards nationalism among young people'. Six years previously, in answer to the question 'what do you think about Japan? Maybe one out of ten would reply "Japan is great."' When asked whether they would give their lives to protect the country if it was invaded 'mostly they would laugh and say that they would run'. Even those who claimed to love their country would have difficulty understanding the concept of protecting it. Six years later and Oda found probably eight out of ten would answer 'Japan is great' when asked the same question. Nevertheless, when asked whether they would give their lives to protect the country 'they answered as if it were self-evident. But could not give a clear answer when asked "for what reason?" or what would you protect about the country?' Oda jokingly put the emergence of this 'irresponsible nationalism' (*musekinin na nashonarizumu*) down to the Tokyo Olympics.[85] Oguma Eiji suggests that the increasing social stability brought about by high-speed economic growth helped to firmly establish an 'unconscious

[85] Quoted in Oguma, 'Minshu' to 'Aikoku', p. 554.

nationalism.'[86] The popular media drove this emerging national sentiment and helped to further depoliticise ideas of nation.

(Fig. 10.) 'What would you do if an army invaded?' *Heibon Punch*, September 16th 1968.

In 1968, *Heibon Punch* carried out its own survey on the national sentiment of the Japanese. Envisaging another Occupation, the magazine asked people from different areas of Japanese popular culture about their actions in the event of war. In this case, the scenario was not totally apocalyptic like Nosaka's nuclear holocaust, rather the magazine asked what it referred to as 'people who symbolise modern

[86] Ibid, p. 555.

Japan' how they would respond if the country was invaded and the Japanese people were faced with an army of occupation. The international situation made the question pertinent because, as the magazine pointed out, Japan may have been a peaceful place compared to Czechoslovakia or Romania, nevertheless 'we cannot say that there is no chance of Japan becoming like Czechoslovakia!'[87] The article's sub-title declared a 'New Japanese Yamato Spirit'.

Graphic Designer Yuno Akira thought such a scenario would be okay as long as the occupation of the country was carried out under a capitalist system. But he admitted he 'wouldn't want anything to do with it if it was a communist occupation which tried to unify thought'. Fortunately, possessing 'the skills to make a living anywhere', hair designer Mr Miyazaki declared he 'would move to New York and compete in the fashion industry there'.[88] Fashion model Honda Shineo also had no problem leaving the country when the occupation army invaded. He believed he could find work in any country and claimed to be saving money for just such a moment. He would flee to New York leaving 'many girlfriends' in his wake. Nevertheless, he would not come back to Japan while it was under occupation, because in his opinion, patriotic feeling (*aikokushin)* was 'a worthless thing', and anyway something which he did not possess. Souta, a 'Film Reporter' took a completely opposed stance to Honda, calling for people to 'show the Yamato spirit' under occupation, and confessed to being 'the sort of patriot (*aikokushin-sha*) who worships the Emperor'. He even pledged that 'if Japan was occupied by a foreign army', he would be prepared to 'fight with all my strength to protect the Emperor'. He saw himself as 'a brave young person' and believed occupation would be the perfect chance to 'demonstrate the Yamato spirit'.[89] Songwriter Ichiyanagi Toshi was a little bit more pessimistic about the ability of the Japanese people to resist an armed occupation, pointing out that in Czechoslovakia at least 'they had the goal of freedom'. In Ichiyanagi's opinion, in Japan there was 'no autonomy'. The Japanese were unable to fight like the Czech people because Japanese thought only 'about their own well-being', and only acted 'for their own gain'. For Ichiyanagi, an occupation 'would be a good chance to think about and discover what Japan was' (*nihon to wa nani ka*), and at the same time to question 'what it means to be Japanese' (*nihonjin to wa nani ka*).

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[87] 'Sengun ga Kitara Dō Suru?' *Heibon Punch*, September 16th 1968, pp. 33-34.
[88] 'Sengun ga Kitara Dō Suru?'pp. 33-34.
[89] Ibid.

He worried that he would feel the limit of what it meant to be a human being keenly, as he discovered whether he was the sort of person who could oppose an occupation.[90] While Ichiyanagi, Honda and Sōta all saw the question of an occupation of Japan as an opportunity to reflect on what the country and love of country meant, not all those interviewed took the question as seriously.

Perhaps unsurprisingly in light of his profession, and somewhat echoing Nosaka's point that people did not really take the threat of war seriously, one film maker who was interviewed came up with a very practical but extremely creative means of challenging any military force occupying Japan. He saw any occupation as a long way in the future and at that time expected there to be 'a lot more homos in Japan'. This would be a stroke of luck, as in his opinion any occupying army would be 'full of homos', leading to the perfect solution whereby 'all of Japan's homos dress up and go to an underground bar inviting the occupation army. They will sell themselves all together and there will be no need to resist with bullets'.[91] Sugimura-san, an illustrator, took the prize for the most inventive and enjoyable, though perhaps somewhat impractical response to an occupation of Japan. In his opinion, a mass 'masturbation competition in front of the occupation army' was the best means of opposing the invaders. Pointing out the usefulness of the transformation of places like Ginza and Hibiya, where many underground bars and restaurants had opened up, he would first send all the women and children underground. Next, using the speakers from many houses he would play rhythm and blues music at full volume. Because the occupation army would be made up of people from rural areas (*inakajin*) 'they would feel like country bumpkins listening to the music'. The finale would bring together 'all the young people in Japan' who would 'all masturbate together in front of the army'. In place of gunpowder, the streets would 'be filled with the smell of semen'. Blue films would be shown at various places and eventually the occupation soldiers would 'become sexually dissatisfied'. The genius of the plan, as Sugimura saw it, was that there would be 'no women because they are all underground'. The ensuing sexually driven chaos among the occupying troops would result in the enemy leaders

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

losing control of their forces, consequently ordering a retreat, at which point Japan would be saved.[92]

Clearly most of the interviewees did not take the question posed by *Heibon Punch* at all seriously, and many showed a startling lack of urgency that would not have surprised Nosaka Akiyuki. But some of the responses, particularly those of Honda, Sugimura, Ichiyanagi and Sōta, did at least touch on the issue of what Japan would mean to them in such a situation. While Honda claimed he could see no attachment to Japan and dismissed the idea of possessing anything like patriotic feeling '*aikokushin,'* Sōta's apparent respect for the Emperor was a throwback to an era of Japanese history which he himself was perhaps comfortable knowing would never return. It was also a stance which few of the readers of *Heibon Punch* would have agreed with. In a survey of students at Meiji University in Tokyo carried out the previous year, 60% of respondents claimed they felt nothing towards the Emperor and his family. Indeed only 5% said they had respect for the Emperor, and less than half agreed with the presence of the Emperor in Japan's political system.[93] The approach of many of the 'symbols of Japanese society' — celebrities and opinion formers — to the question of a new occupation was the result of those forces of high speed growth and high speed information which the November 1968 article pointed to as the cause of constantly changing social values. In many ways, if the world was always changing and nothing could be certain of staying the same, if those who were 'MAD' yesterday may not be today, and a nuclear war could end everything, then attachment to the idea of nation held similar fluid and ever-changing qualities. It could be dismissed as unimportant or seen as vitally important, but ultimately a matter of personal preference

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[92] Ibid.
[93] Fuse Toyamasa, 'Student Radicalism in Japan: A "Cultural Revolution"?', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol 13, No 3 (Oct 1969), p. 335.

Chapter 6

The 'Real' War

'In today's Japan, in the family, in the school, in society the smiling faces are disappearing. As the smiling faces become poorer, war, crime and unrest are increasing. From ancient times the Japanese minzoku were a bright minzoku which never forgot to laugh...Let's face the New Year with smiling faces.'

Mr Suzuki, retired teacher.[1]

In the summer of 1968 businessman Matsushita Konnosuke won fourth place in the 'Mr International' poll in *Heibon Punch,* and his company provided electrical consumer goods in the prize draw for those who voted. Back in 1946, Matsushita had set up the PHP foundation (Peace and Happiness through Prosperity) to 'bring peace and fulfilment to human society by ensuring both material and spiritual abundance'. As a businessman his duty was 'to ensure products were available to consumers as readily as running water'.[2] By the late 1960s, they were, but by then student protests and their coverage in the mass media had begun to highlight the contradictions inherent in the country's postwar economic growth. While students realised the need to examine their own role in creating and maintaining social inequality in Japan, the country's role in the Vietnam War gave the same issues of responsibility and participation a national perspective. Nevertheless, just as the students' attempts at introspection were subverted by the dominance of a consumer economy of which they were an integral part, so too was the international situation refracted through the internal dynamics of economic growth.

As the Vietnam War increased in intensity, Japan began to challenge the United States economically. As noted in relation to the Tokyo Olympics, one result of the United States' approach to the Cold War in Asia was the return of Japanese economic dominance in Southeast Asia. In the late 1950s, Japanese-based companies had begun to emerge as a key element in the political economy of Asia as Japan

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[1] 'Dokusha no Ran', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1st January 1968.
[2] http://www.php.co.jp/en/think.php; Konosuke Matsushita, *Quest for Prosperity: the Life of a Japanese Industrialist* (Tokyo: PHO Institute, 1988), pp. 333-337.

gradually became a model for its former colonies. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, many companies were relocating operations to countries, which were formerly part of the Japanese Empire.[3] Between 1956 and 1969, Japanese exports to South Vietnam quadrupled, and by 1972 imports of raw materials from South Vietnam had increased seven times over 1958 levels.[4] At the same time, the United States emphasis on military production in its own domestic economy and its inability to produce consumer goods cheaply meant that the US economy 'soaked up Japanese colour televisions, chemicals, auto parts, electric cable, and machinery'. 'Even the vaunted American aircraft industry strained under the war, so that a regional US airline had to order thirty YS-11 passenger planes from Japan' and 'Fuji heavy industries exported seven helicopters to Bell Helicopter Corporation'. By 1967, exports to the United States attributable to the war are thought to have increased by $260 million over the previous year, and overall 'Japanese exports to America between 1965 and 1972 grew at an average annual rate of 21 per cent, partly through normal growth but also because of Vietnam'.[5] Largely funded by the US and Japan, the Asian Development Bank was established in 1966 to provide funds to non-communist Southeast Asia, and with the official declaration of the Guam doctrine by President Nixon on July 25th 1969 it became clear that the US expected Japan to take on a greater financial role in the region.[6]

With the support of the United States, Japan's economic growth had taken it to the position of the world's second greatest capitalist power by the time of the Tokyo Olympics.[7] In 1952, the Korean War had taken up an estimated 63% of Japanese exports, and the US spent $600 million every year for the rest of the decade on maintaining its bases in Japan. The war in Vietnam was not as significant as the Korean War for Japan, whose economy had grown six times larger than it had been in 1952. Nonetheless the Vietnam War 'became another lever for Japanese companies to pry open American pocketbooks' due to the fact that many corporations in the United

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[3]Mark T. Berger, *The Battle for Asia: From Decolonisation to Globalisation* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), p. 229.
[4] Masaya Shiraishi, *Japanese Relations with Vietnam: 1951-1987* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 27-28.
[5]Berger, The Battle for Asia, p. 229.
[6] Shiraishi, Japanese Realtions, pp. 30-31.
[7] Nakano, Satoshi, 'Betonamu Sensō no jidai', in Wada Haruki et al Eds. *Higashi Ajia Kingendai Tsushi,* Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2011), p. 35.

States found it difficult to raise capacity fast enough to manufacture retail items.[8] The tensions this created in the US-Japan relationship became clear in the popular media and on the streets. As Walter LaFeber has pointed out, it was no surprise that the effects of US-Japan trade began to gain attention around 1965, just as Americans began to die in large numbers in Vietnam. 'A trade balance long favourable to the United States turned unfavourable; by 1968 the US deficit had quadrupled the deficit of 1967'.[9] After encouraging the liberalisation of the Japanese and world economies after the war, by the late 1960s America was trying to impose restrictions on goods imported from Japan.

In Japan, domestic opposition to the Vietnam War was intense. From 1969 onwards, the anti-war group Beiheiren attracted huge numbers of people as they reached out beyond students to involve far more people than before. Yet as noted in the previous chapter, the protests against the war were tied up with the issue of the social and economic changes wrought by high-speed economic growth. Okinawa was tied to both. As Thomas Havens has pointed out, with the security treaty again due for renewal in 1970 the leaders of Beiheiren realised the importance of Okinawa as 'a corollary to the upcoming treaty issue'.[10] Discussion of 'the return' of Okinawa was rife in the popular media. The ambiguity in discussions between the US and the Japanese governments over the return and the amount of time they were taking led some commentators to fear that the people on the mainland would soon lose all interest. Even for people living in Okinawa the agreement on the return was not well thought of.[11] Yet as this chapter will show, the discussion and debate in the media connected the issue to high-speed economic growth on the mainland, and in doing so brought out the contradictions of growth on the mainland and the relationship between Japan and the United States. As with the student protests, consumerism and 'Americanisation' were seen to have brought about de-politicisation, rendering the Japanese people insensitive to the war and the plight of Okinawa.

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[8]Thomas Havens, Fire Across the Sea, p. 94; James Llweleyn, 'Balancing Okinawa's Return with American Expectations: Japan and the Vietnam War 1965-1975, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 10, 2010. P. 307.

[9] Walter LaFeber. 'Decline of Relations during the Vietnam War', Chapter 6 in Iriye and Cohen Eds, *The United States and Japan in the Postwar World* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1989).

[10] Havens, Fire Across the Sea, pp. 173-176.

[11] Nakajima Takuma, *Kodō Seichō to Okinawa Henkan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Tōbunkan, 2012), p. 272.

Okinawa is Cheap!

Veteran anti-war protester and Beiheiren leader Iida Momo, writing in *Fujin Kōron* in December 1969, claimed that the 'Golden Sixties' championed by President Kennedy were over. He quoted the present US President, Richard Nixon, as saying that the latter part of the 20th Century carried the serious threat of a third world war. According to Nixon, the danger area was not America, Europe, South America or Africa, but Asia. Although Iida had studied geography in school, he nevertheless went to check his atlas and desperately implored his readers to do the same, pointing out that yes, 'Japan is in Asia!' Moreover he asked his readers to run their finger over Japan because 'that's right, Okinawa is there'. The 'island in the middle of a military base…sinking under the weight of armaments' was not only supporting the Vietnam War but becoming home to most of the armaments in the Pacific area.[12] As *Newsweek* explained in August 1965, Okinawa was 'one vast supply dump, training ground and advanced staging area for US forces in the Far East'. Every possible item in America's war arsenal was stored there 'from jungle knives to nuclear weapons…', and Kadena Air Force Base, just north of Naha, was one of the world's busiest airports, with camps, firing ranges and supply depots scattered 'the length and breadth of the island'.[13] For this reason Okinawa was right at the heart of the discussions between Japan and the United States over the Security Treaty in 1970, and one of the most pressing issues in the popular media.

But what exactly was the significance of Okinawa? What was the Island's importance for people on the mainland? Here, the contradictions and ambiguities of economic growth on the mainland became apparent. For Iida, Okinawa's importance seemed clear on the map. Yet as one high school student noted, 'in the classroom teachers don't talk about it. They don't want to be asked about it'. A Kanagawa School's head teacher banned the Okinawan Research Group from discussing anything other than tourism at the school's culture festival. Iida feared that because of the postwar education system people on the mainland were 'in danger of forgetting the simple fact on a map: that Okinawa is in Japan and Japan is in Asia'.[14] As Tobe Hideaki has noted, for Okinawa high-speed economic growth was part of a neo-

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[12] Iida Momo, 'Bōsō Suru Mōretsu Nippon', *Fujin Kōron*, December 1969, p. 137.
[13] Mark Selden, 'Okinawa and American Security Imperialism', in *Remaking Asia: essays on the American Uses of Power* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).
[14] Iida, 'Bōsō Suru Mōretsu Nippon', p. 137.

colonial political system, and never reached the levels of high-speed growth experienced on the mainland. What it did do was deepen 'dependence on the American military'.[15] In this context Mark Selden has pointed out that by the late 1960s, the Okinawan economy was overwhelmingly dependent on the spending of the US military. After 1965, the value of Okinawan exports declined as inflation outpaced the increase in foreign sales while exports never climbed above a meagre twenty per cent of imports. This massive trade deficit was stemmed only by a desperate reliance on the US dollars provided by the salaries and expenditure of the military bases.[16] The problems and consequences of the postwar settlement for Japan, Asia and America were clearly evident in Okinawa, where the contradictions of the rapid growth of a consumer society within the context of the postwar settlement were also becoming clear.

In the terminal shop of Naha airport, whisky imported by America was extremely popular. Indeed, more than one thousand three hundred bottles of Johnny Walker Black Label 'sold out very quickly' according to the explanation in a picture book of the Ryuku Islands that accompanied a recruitment campaign for workers for a ferry between the mainland and Okinawa. Iida admitted that, even though he didn't have an entry permit to visit Okinawa, his mouth was watering at the thought of Johnny Walker Black Label for six dollars, Red Label for two dollars, Napoleon Brandy for ten dollars, and White Horse whisky for two dollars. No doubt he was just as tempted as the workers belonging to Sohyo who continually visited the island to protest for the return of Okinawa to Japan, but nevertheless took full advantage of the duty free sales war to stock up on the three bottles of Johnny Walker, six hundred Okinawan cigarettes and four hundred foreign cigarettes allowed by the Japanese government.[17] Iida took aim at the ideas of ANPO prosperity which had firmly taken root on the mainland. The PHP (peace and happiness through prosperity) economics of Matsushita Kōnosuke was no longer just an intellectual concept, in Iida's opinion it was the reality. 'My-homeism', peace and well-being were the driving aims of the Japanese. Iida claimed that an 'economic monster' had been born from the ANPO system, describing it as 'grotesque'. Nevertheless, the irony of the system was

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[15] Tobe Hideaki, 'Okinawa Senryō kara mita Nihon no Kodō Seichō', in Wada et al Eds. Higashi Ajia Vol. 8, p. 254.
[16] Selden, 'Okinawa and American Security', p. 289.
[17] Iida, 'Bōsō Suru Mōretsu Nippon', p. 138.

overwhelming. Everyone went about clutching 'the neutral-coloured paper bags from the duty free shops', and buying headbands and sleeve ties proclaiming 'ANPO *Haiki*' (abolish ANPO).[18]

Yet the former head of Sohyo saw this consumerist aspect of the reversion movement as a good thing. Oda Kaoru believed it was natural if workers wanted to drink 'Johnny Walker and Napoleon to make them feel better'. Over twenty years of attending Sohyo meetings he had seen a clear difference between the feelings of Okinawan people and those on the mainland. 'Up to now if there was assault or rape by US soldiers, that incident would rapidly spread across the territory because it was not right to be seen to cause problems'. For Oda, 'at least if Johnny Walker Red Label can achieve an end to this it is good'.[19] The important thing for the trade union was to bring prosperity to the people of Okinawa, and for this it was necessary to demand a 'western level of lifestyle'. Through twenty-six years of effort, Okinawa had moved from 'being able to eat Japanese rice in the morning' to having what Oda termed a 'mainland level of lifestyle'. For Iida though, the problem with this desire to be like the mainland or like the west in both Japan and Okinawa was the implication that it would follow the same ideas of development that had been sparked by the Meiji revolution of the 19th Century, when it had become clear by 1969 that this path of modernisation and development through prosperity had been fundamentally brought into question.

The 'arrow of development', as Iida called it, led directly to the adoption of American ways of life in Okinawa, an opinion backed up in *Heibon Punch* by Kitayama Osamu a year or so later. At the time Kitayama was a popular folk singer most famous for the song *For Children who don't know War* (*Sensō o Shiranai Kodomotachi*), first performed at the Osaka Expo in 1970 and released in February 1971. On a visit to Okinawa, Kitayama found that most of the young people there were far more americanised than the young people on the mainland. 'Even more than the spiritually, internationally mixed-blood young people of Tokyo and Osaka are westernised, aren't those born in postwar Okinawa americanised? The people I was introduced to were urban Okinawans and so may be only a small section. Nevertheless, surrounded by and influenced by American things from birth there must

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

be a lot of young people who have taken this to heart'. Language was a big problem between Kitayama and the young people in Okinawa. 'Especially in conversation about music or customs it seemed to get the point across much better to suitably mix Japanese and English.'[20] Indeed, young people in Okinawa had little time for Japanese culture according to one music fan Kitayama spoke to. 'Here we also have Japanese programmes on the radio, but it is my grandparents who listen to them. The cool people all listen to those radio stations aimed at the American bases. Japanese radio is also full of American music, but it is very late. Popular records in Okinawa are all two or three months behind (on Japanese radio) so we don't really want to listen to them.'[21] The real issue though was the overwhelming political apathy of young Japanese on the mainland, and this extended beyond a simple lack of interest in Okinawa.

For Kitayama, many young Okinawans would have a hard time understanding the idea of Okinawa's return to Japan. 'The land they happened to be born in will be returned to Japan because a long time ago it happened to belong to Japan. They cannot be satisfied with that reason…' Could anybody really promise them that Japan was the *Furusato* of their dreams? His argument took aim at those young Japanese who saw themselves as political. As he pointed out, 'it is a trend among our generation to be uninterested in politics, it's seems cool to mock politics'. At one university on the mainland the students went on strike over the issue of the return of Okinawa. Yet while deciding whether or not to boycott lectures in opposition to the signing of the agreement on the return of Okinawa many of them returned to their hometowns. 'The number of student rail passes increased as students went home claiming 'Okinawa has got nothing to do with us!' 'Nothing to do with me' was a pet phrase in Kitayama's opinion. Young people used it during elections. 'I don't understand their feelings. OK, so they go home and take a look at familiar faces, decide that going bowling is more interesting. That I can understand'. Kitayama claimed that according to political scientists the system attracted and worked for all of the people (*kokumin*) and that the state should forget about the silent ones. If the

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[20] Kitayama Osamu, 'Nihon wa Okinawa no Furusato ka: Yangu Seijika Shibōsha e no Shitsumon', *Heibon Punch*, June 21st 1971, p. 110
[21] Ibid.

young generation continued to be uninterested, they would become a 'social blind spot. Can we really live with no interest in politics?' [22]

Kitayama had recently met on old high school friend who had once wanted to be a politician. He no longer had that desire, and believed that all politicians were stupid. 'Look at the bad sense of politicians. They only know about politics, professional politics makes politics stupid. I don't want to be that stupid'. But Kitayama believed that if no young people had an interest in politics 'when our generation takes over power won't the situation be even worse than now? ... Is it really only people who know little of the world who want to tread the path of becoming a politician? I can't help being terrified! Is it really true!!! Those young people who want to be politicians — do you have the mental ability? What do you think of Okinawa?! What should we tell the young people of Okinawa?!!! What kind of "Japan" do we plan to make in Okinawa?!'[23]

Iida Momo also expressed doubts about the nature of politics on the mainland. The basis of postwar developmental trajectory may well have been democracy, but it needed to be remembered that this American democracy was 'killing Vietnamese outside and killing black people inside'. The Americans were losing morally and militarily in Vietnam, and so the goal of a western lifestyle was nothing more than 'to be frank, peace and prosperity built upon the blood of Vietnamese people'.[24] Sadly, the Japanese only thought about ANPO in terms of their own advantage or disadvantage. According to Iida, French President Charles De Gaulle's joke about the Japanese Prime Minister being a 'transistor salesman' had led to the Japanese ruling class 'without regard for appearances' talking about the country playing 'a leading role in Asia.'[25] The government's talk about prosperity and lifestyle meant that the questions of ANPO and Okinawa were only discussed in terms of their profitability. In Iida's opinion, it all quite simply boiled down to one question: whether ANPO and Okinawa were 'as profitable as Johnny Walker Red Label'.

The discrimination and cold-hearted calculation which Iida complained about was one fundamental aspect of the developmental path of democracy that Japan's leaders had followed. Democracy, as Iida saw it, had western style discrimination

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[22] Ibid, p. 111.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Iida, 'Bōsō Suru Mōretsu Nippon', p. 139.
[25] Ibid.

built into it. '(In) American democracy white women are free, black people are lynched, while Vietnamese are napalmed'.[26] But people in America and Japan went about their everyday lives turning a blind eye to this problem. Students and young people were ignored in Japan, and considered naive by their teachers. Young people were constantly told to 'study, study, study', and wait until university to begin thinking about such problems. The pressing question was: 'how do the supposedly mature teachers oppose the war in Vietnam?' The answer was simple, 'they grind their teeth and say "me I am a wife and I have children" just as if it has no relation to them at all'. Those wives and mothers clearly forgot that 'most of the people being killed are wives and have children'. If society put high school tests before thinking about the realities of the discrimination inherent in the system Iida believed it was time to rethink the relationship between mother and child. Allowing B52s to take off from Okinawa every day whilst talking about peace, happiness, and anti-violence was a terrible contradiction, which for Iida held racist connotations. Japanese people and the state took the advantages offered by economic power and prosperity and conveniently ignored the fundamental injustice it was built on. In short, it was 'ignorant, arrogant, negligent, and decadent'.[27]

A year before Iida's article appeared, the writer Ōshiro Tatsuhiro published an article in the same magazine, *Fujin Kōron,* which sought to find out how the Okinawan people 'really felt' in relation to the idea of 'returning to the mainland.' While the Japanese mass media earnestly covered the demonstrations and protests, they didn't capture everyday life in Okinawa. The feeling in Okinawa was one of resignation. The protests made no difference, and while people thought they should return to the mainland they didn't believe they ever would. This passivity was 'not a brief illness, but a chronic one which came to infect the entire body'.[28] Such a sense of resignation was not without its advantages though, because in Ōshiro's opinion without it Okinawa could not have lived with 'the American nuclear bases for twenty years'. Since the military bases had never actually brought harm to Okinawa itself there was a 'weakness in the power of imagination' which was responsible for the relaxed attitude of the people. In addition, the economic support the bases provided to

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[26] Ibid, p. 141.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ōshiro Tatsuhiro, 'Okinawa jin no Hontō no Kimochi', *Fujin Kōron*, April 1968.

the people of the island meant that for the most part there was no urgency on the part of Okinawan people to 'return to the mainland'.

Ōshiro also discussed the fact that under American rule in Okinawa there had been concerted efforts by the military administration to raise an Okinawan sense of nationalism and separate it from Japan. These efforts, in Ōshiro's opinion, brought back the consciousness of discrimination inflicted on Okinawans when Okinawa was a part of Japan. For a while, 'the romantic notion of an independent country floated around'.[29] In Ōshiro's opinion, it was a small number of people who called for a return to Japan and took an anti-base position, and whenever the bases did start to become a problem it was because of the issue of earnings from land used by the army. Ultimately, 'economic development was achieved by the enlarging of bases and the growth in earnings from the bases'.[30] Okinawa embodied the very dilemma facing the Japanese people as the economy developed rapidly under the military umbrella of the United States.

The businesses around the bases may have welcomed the increase in income because of the Vietnam War, but Ōshiro did not dwell on the many undesirable consequences of the presence of US bases in Okinawa. In just two years, between 1964 and 1966, the number of so-called 'atrocious and violent crimes' carried out by American servicemen or civilian base employees had almost doubled. Not to mention the many 'mechanical disasters' such as an incident of drinking water and crop contamination by leaking fuel oil on 4th January 1968.[31] The contradictions between everyday life, the economy, the international situation and the treatment of young people in Japan were becoming increasingly evident by the late 1960s. Okinawa clearly reflected the ambiguous situation in which the vast majority of people on the mainland found themselves benefitting from the hegemony of the neo-imperialism of the United States whilst opposing the war in Vietnam and taking pride in the idea of their country as a role model in Asia.

Race War?

Japan's role in supporting the American action in the Vietnam War raised issues similar to those debated during the Tokyo Olympics — Japan's position in Southeast

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[29] Ibid, p. 117.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Watanabe, The Okinawa Problem, pp. 65-66.

Asia and the way other Asian peoples perceived Japan. A few months after Satō's departure to Washington from the fortress of Haneda airport, the *Asahi Graph* published an article entitled 'Are Japanese people Yellow Whites?' Written by critic Kugai Saburō, the article addressed the massacres being carried out by US forces in Vietnam with the support of the Japanese government. Kugai was worried by the lack of concern in Japan after the massacre at My Lai in March 1968. News of My Lai had begun to emerge in late 1968 and, as someone who travelled widely, frequently to Hanoi, he noticed that more fuss was being made in European countries than in Japan concerning the actions of American forces in Vietnam.[32]

Kugai had heard about the massacre for the first time in November 1968 when he left Tokyo for one of his trips to Hanoi. Time magazine published graphic photos of the massacre, reports of which, according to Kugai, had first become known in Britain and then spread across Europe before becoming an explosive political problem in America. Kugai stressed, however, that he got all this information from his time in Hanoi, and not through the Japanese media. In Vietnam he was often asked why such things were taken up by the western media, leading to large protests, while the same did not seem to happen in Japan. This led him to pose the question: 'Are we Japanese so insensitive and dehumanised through the process of high speed economic growth that we cannot show a humanitarian response to such an inhuman action?'[33] In Kugai's opinion, it was partly the Japanese proximity to the war that meant the people did not appear to respond to reports of atrocities in Vietnam. He believed that, 'compared to Americans and Europeans', the Japanese had more information about such events, but the corollary of this was that there was 'no fresh surprise', and, at the same time, 'no protests in response like in Europe and America'.[34] It was important to insist that this over-exposure was not an excuse, and keeping quiet only helped the Americans. As Asians, Kugai believed the Japanese had a duty to protest and make a noise about the crimes of America in Vietnam. The war was 'a war of white America against Asian people…a massacre and genocide against Asian people'. A journalist in Hanoi had rammed this point home to Kugai by pointing out that America tested its new weapons on Asian people first. In Hiroshima it had been nuclear weapons and

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[32] Kugai Saburō, 'Nihonjin wa Kiiroi Hakujin Nano ka', *Asahi Graph*, February 2nd 1970, p. 24.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

now, in Vietnam, napalm and chemical weapons were being used. The journalist warned him that as an Asian, this fact was something Kugai should never forget.

Nevertheless, Kugai did not see the Vietnam War as a racial war, although he did believe that American policy was 'shot through with the same discrimination which imprisons black people'.[35] The Japanese had become more similar to Westerners than to 'the Koreans, Chinese and Vietnamese', and this was more than simply a sense of affinity with the West. As Japan approached the standard of living of the West and gained economic influence in the international arena, finally 'stepping foot in the white pool of African Republics', Japanese people had 'come to feel the same racist scorn as Westerners towards Vietnamese and Koreans'.[36] The Japanese who stayed in Phnom Pen, for example, stayed in the same hotels and wore the same clothes as Americans, and they felt the same need to distance themselves from the people of Southeast Asia.[37] The same scornful attitude was evident in the expression of two Khmer ladies who served him at the ship's offices in Phnom Pen as he made his way back to Japan. They wore French make-up and miniskirts and were fluent in both French and English and, for Kugai, after returning from Hanoi where 'all the women wore *minzoku* uniform' he really felt 'the ladies' elite consciousness'. 'Those expressions said: I am the same as a white person. I am totally different from the poor Southeast Asian people'. As the woman handed him his ticket, Kugai was 'taken by the feeling that as a Southeast Asian she was reflecting Japan's position back on itself'.[38] Japanese people had exactly the same consciousness. Their economic superiority allowed them to see themselves as equal to white people, and consequently different from Asians. Affluence trumped ethnicity.

As Kugai saw it, Japan's role in and responsibility for the war in Vietnam was seen by most Japanese people to be due to its enforced position as a base for the American attacks. So for the majority of Japanese people, if Japan was at fault it was because of passive cooperation with the Americans. But over the previous two decades, the economic links between the countries had increased and the Japanese economy was profiting enormously from the war as exports grew. This was clear

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[35] This was the line of thinking that drove the peace movement (*Beiheiren*) to ally itself with the U.S civil rights movement.
[36] Kugai, 'Nihonjin wa Kiiroi Hakujin Nano ka', p. 25.
[37] In his novel *Into a Black Sun* (1968), Kaiko Takeshi has the main character make the same criticism of the majority of Japanese journalists covering the war.
[38] Kugai, 'Nihonjin wa Kiiroi Hakujin Nano ka', p26.

according to the leaders of the South Vietnam Freedom Front when they addressed Kugai, claiming: 'Vietnamese people like Japanese products, but economic aid and skill support helps the puppet power in Saigon. This is a problem because it helps to continue the American invasion'. Japan's economic development was inseparable from the actions of the United States in the eyes of the people of Southeast Asia.

An old Japanese soldier who had remained in Vietnam after the Second World War and had just recently opened his own Japanese language school backed up this claim. At first he had struggled with only about 70 students, but after the 1968 Tet Offensive this number quickly increased. The Vietnamese newspapers were full of discussions of the US military but after that there was 'a lot about how the Japanese economy was developing'. Indeed the school was in the position of having to turn away students as the number rapidly increased, 'because being taught by Japanese people is really popular'.[39] On a visit to the mountain tribes north of Saigon, journalist Honda Katsuichi returned to one village and, on hearing music coming from a kite, 'immediately assumed that some Japanese transistor radio had been introduced even to this remote village, and was lashed to the frame of the kite'.[40] Evidence of Japan's influence in Southeast Asia was everywhere. The foreign minister in Hanoi got straight to the point. He warned Kugai that a 'new Japanese colonialist expansionism' (*shin-shokuminchi shugiteki bōchyōshugi*) was developing.[41] In Kugai's opinion, President Nixon's plans for Vietnam were based on Japanese economic development, and all of Southeast Asia knew this. It was this economic involvement in the economies of East and Southeast Asia, under the protection of the umbrella of American nuclear power, which was disavowed by the Japanese people.

For Kugai and other journalists covering the conflict, it was no longer justifiable to separate the Japanese people from the actions of the Japanese state. As Honda Katsuichi explained, after being mistaken for Korean when visiting the National Hospital in Vinh-Long, the people's 'look of hatred would gradually die away, but it left me with a bitter aftertaste. Considering the difference between Korea's open participation in the war, and Japan's present attitudes and policies towards Vietnam, we can no longer exonerate ourselves by saying "No we are

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[39] 'Nihongo Juku Kei Kyū-heishi', *Asahi Graph,* July 16th 1971.
[40] Katsuichi Honda, *Vietnam War: A Report through Asian Eyes,* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1972), p. 89. Honda was mistaken and the sound was produced by a bow attached to the top of the kite.
[41] Kugai, 'Nihonjin wa Kiiroi Hakujin Nano ka', p. 26.

Japanese"'.[42] The contradictions of Japan's situation were becoming clear. In the eyes of the people of Southeast Asia, the Japanese protested against their government's support of the United States because it restricted Japan's autonomy as a sovereign state. For them, Japan's involvement in Vietnam was a problem tied to the ANPO treaty. For the people of Southeast Asia encountered by Kugai and other journalists though, the problem was the economic dominance of Japan in the region, which the United States was supporting through its war in Vietnam.

The people of the region saw the economic development of the Japanese economy into Southeast Asian markets, and it revived the memory of the wartime actions of the Japanese in Southeast Asia. In 1945, the Japanese army exported rice to Japan to prevent starvation in the homeland, while nearly two million people starved to death in Vietnam itself. Any Japanese citizen over the age of 26 or 27 'must have benefitted from this policy, indeed they were only able to eat because of it. We Japanese were able to continue living through the sacrifice of unknown numbers of Vietnamese. This is a shocking historical truth which cannot be denied'.[43] When the Japanese did think and protest about the inhuman actions of America in the My Lai incident, they had to keep in mind that it was the Japanese who were there first. Vietnamese people absolved American people for the crimes their country committed under the belief that American imperialism and American people were different. In the same way, they saw Japanese fascists and Japanese people as different.

Yet Japanese people should not just nod at this in agreement, because if it were not for the foreign rice in 1945 many young Japanese people would not have been alive. It was impossible to separate the people from the policies of their state. Kugai himself 'couldn't shake off the terrible idea that during the horrible experience of war I had eaten foreign rice'.[44] The Vietnamese had an ethnic national (*minzokuteki*) pride far stronger than that of the Japanese. 'They have a *minzokuteki* pride that is needed to become a yellow white man that far exceeds what we can imagine as Japanese'. After all, the Vietnamese were opposing the most powerful

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[42]Honda, Vietnam War, p. 149. South Korea sent 320,000 troops to Vietnam, more as a percentage of the population, than any other country. They had a fearsome reputation, and at the time of Honda's visit to the hospital in 1967 the number of Korean soldiers was reaching its peak of 50,000.

[43] Kugai, 'Nihonjin wa Kiiroi Hakujin Nano ka', p. 26.

[44] Ibid, p. 26.

military in history and winning.[45] Ultimately, the economic superiority of Japan distanced the Japanese people from the struggles of the Vietnamese, and the growth of a consumer society under the shelter of the US-Japan alliance deflected the political nature of Japanese economic influence in Southeast Asia. At the same time, as Beiheiren discovered, the war and the issue of Okinawa allowed the Japanese to disavow the country's connection to US imperialism. Nevertheless, in blaming the state and consumerism for people's lack of interest or empathy towards Vietnam, the debate in many ways combined the post-ANPO trope of an authoritarian state and the introspection of the student protests. In this context, calls for a re-evaluation of the prewar nature of Japanese imperialism were deflected by a concern for the nature of postwar Japanese national identity and its subordination to the United States.

Domestic Discrimination

The apparent distance between Japanese and other Asian peoples extended to the treatment of Southeast Asians studying and living in Japan. In *Fujin Kōron* in June 1970, Haruki Wada, an assistant professor at the University of Tokyo, wrote of the extent of this discrimination. For Wada, proof that discrimination against foreigners living in Japan was widespread came from the Japanese government's treatment of Vietnamese living in the country who were called up to fight in the war.[46] Like Kugai, Wada feared that the Japanese people had become used to the atrocities and massacres carried out by the American military in Vietnam. After the photographs of the massacre at My Lai were published in the *Asahi Graph* and *Mainichi Graph*, Wada 'stood outside the train station shouting please look', but was frustrated in his efforts to make people take notice. The Japanese people had become used to the idea of the deaths of huge numbers of people and no longer thought about them as individuals. The response may have been understandable on one level. As Wada admitted, it may be hard to face eating dinner after seeing the photos. Nevertheless he found people's lack of interest in the deaths of large numbers of Asians depressing.[47]

According to Wada, there were two categories of people living in Japan who could neither forget nor ignore the slaughter that was taking place in Vietnam. One was the wounded American soldiers recuperating in Japanese field hospitals. 'As a

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Wada Haruki, 'Nihonjin no Uchinaru Sabetsu', *Fujin Kōron*, June 1970.
[47] Ibid, p. 154.

living part of the apparatus for carrying out these massacres, (they) were forced to become involved in the war'.[48] The second group was the Vietnamese students living in Japan who were part of the Vietnamese masses, and 'must be killed or fight (in order) not to be killed'. There were around one hundred and fifty students from South Vietnam studying in Japan, and many of them had arrived to study in the country 'without being taught about Dien Bien Phu or the Geneva accord'. When they came to Japan, Wada claimed, 'it was the first time they had heard the true history of their country'.[49] Discovering the true history of their country naturally led to the students protesting against the war and their refusal to be drafted when called up by the government in Saigon.

On June 9th 1969, President Nixon and South Vietnamese president Thieu met at Midway, where Nixon agreed to withdraw 25,000 US troops. At the same time, the issue of a larger role for Japan was becoming pressing for other countries in the region.[50] Around twenty protesters entered the Vietnamese embassy in Tokyo to demonstrate against the United States as the June meeting began. Although small in number they formed a group (Beiheito) to fight for peace and unification in their home country. In October 1969, three students received their conscription papers from the government in Saigon and refused to answer the call up. In doing this, they had refused to recognise the sovereignty of the government in Saigon and, in Wada's opinion, faced the same problems as objectors avoiding the draft in America. According to the announcement by the students, the government of President Nguyen Van Thieu and his vice president Nguyen Cao Ky was 'nothing more than a tool for the accomplishment of the US government's war policies'. In refusing the draft, the students' goal was 'not only to stay in Japan, but to continue studying and make the situation in Vietnam better known'. For Wada Haruki, the important question was

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[48] Ibid. See Havens, Fire Across the Sea, for a discussion of the establishment, and protests against, the field hospitals set up on American military bases in Japan.
[49] Wada, 'Nihonjin no Uchinaru Sabetsu', p. 155.
[50] See for example, Memorandum of Conversation: Talks between President Nixon and President Pak, August 21st 1969, http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/virtuallibrary/releases/nov07/082169_korea.pdf, last accessed 21/11/13.

what did 'the Japanese people and the Japanese government think about the actions of the students?'[51]

Would the Japanese support these fellow Asians living and studying in Japan? To answer the question, Wada went back to the Meiji period, when Japan first began to receive students from Asia coming to seek 'enlightenment to free the rest of Asia'.[52] The largest group of students came from China and, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War, many of those who came wanted to overthrow the existing Chinese regime. During the early 1900s, the number of Chinese students in Japan stood at 8,000, and according to Wada many student groups were set up to resist the Chinese government. This agitation by Chinese students studying in Japan began to cause problems for the Japanese government, particularly after the 1905 war with Russia and the annexation of Korea and Manchuria. Japanese victories in Asia gave hope to the Vietnamese under French colonial rule. In 1905, the independence campaigner Phan Boi Chau came to Japan to ask the Japanese government for help and weapons to fight the French. The Japanese government refused his request, but Phan Boi Chau returned to Vietnam and promptly set up a movement to send students to Japan.

In 1907, those students came together to form a political group, and by 1908, there were more than two hundred Vietnamese students in Japan. All their efforts were brought to an end by matters outside their control though, because on June 10th 1907, Japan and France signed an agreement to recognise each other's influence in Asia and Indo-China. Then in 1908 the French government began to arrest the families of students studying abroad and requested that the Japanese government hand over anti-French members of the Vietnamese royal family who were in Japan leading the resistance movement. According to Wada, 'the Japanese government happily agreed and banished the foreign students'.[53] By February 1909, only thirty students remained in Japan. In Wada's opinion, in its quest for recognition by the West in the Meiji period, Japan had betrayed its Asian neighbours. Japanese Imperialism sought

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[51] Wada, 'Nihonjin no Uchinaru Sabetsu', pp. 155-156; 'Heiwa Undō ni Chiyō Hei Senbū', *Asahi Shimbun*, October 4th 1969; 'Dai Gashyō to Moku to Damatō "Bōryoku Jidai wa Owata"', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 28th 1973.
[52] Wada, 'Nihonjin no Uchinaru Sabetsu', p. 156.
[53] Ibid, p. 157.

to enlighten Asia even as the country turned its back on those who came to seek that enlightenment.

The international goals of the Meiji state could not be derailed by sympathy for fellow Asians in Japan. In the context of the Vietnam War, the way Japanese people viewed 'Asian' people had not changed at all. Even after August 15th 1945, the concept of 'Modern Japan' was deeply tied up with imperialism, and as imperialism developed it 'betrayed the hopes of exchange students from Asia and oppressed them'. While defeat had seemed to offer a new starting point for Japan, in Wada's opinion the problem was that there had been no 'national soul-searching in relation to colonialism' among the Japanese. The goals of building a democratic, peaceful and cultural country were, in Wada's view, the main reason for this lack of reflection on imperialism and Japan's relations with Asia. It was also the reason why the Japanese people's way of looking at Koreans and Taiwanese had 'not changed since the wartime'.[54] Reaction to events in Vietnam was evidence of this.

The lack of soul-searching with regard to the country's imperialist past meant that when, as a result of the economic growth of the 1960's, Japan again began to expand into Asia, 'cases of oppression against exchange students re-emerged'.[55] Wada reported how in 1964 the Japanese government stopped the funding of a Malaysian student at the request of the Malaysian government, and he was subsequently expelled from Chiba University. Then in 1966, a sick student from Malaya had his medical insurance cut off by the Japanese government and was sent out of the country. Two years later, the government refused to extend the permit of stay for a Taiwanese student and forcibly repatriated him. A military court later sentenced him to death. The Japanese state's economic policy and its alliance with the United States — in other words the state's desire to keep up with the West — overrode any feeling for the Vietnamese as fellow Asians. The Vietnamese students who had refused the draft were now facing the same discrimination as those who studied in Japan in the prewar period.

In February 1970, it became clear that the Saigon government had not renewed the passports' of three students, and they informed the justice ministry of this. 'As a result, in March, forty people visited the office in Shinagawa to request to extend their

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

stay without passports'. The justice ministry's response was that they would be allowed to stay in Japan as long as they promised not to engage in any political activity. The students signed a pledge to this effect at the Ministry of Justice, but the government in Saigon reiterated its request to have them sent back. Wada believed the Japanese people were not moved by the plight of the students. For the Japanese state, good relations with the government in Saigon were more important than the freedom of expression and conscience of the students. In the opinion of the Vietnamese students being anti-war was 'the minimal duty of a human being'.[56] The Japanese state's definition of 'political activity' went to very heart of the problem. If the war was a political issue the students could not protest it. If their right to protest against what was happening in their own country was severely restricted they could no longer trust the Japanese people.

As the high growth policies began to show results, the problem of Japan's role in international affairs became more acute. The contradictions were becoming clear and the de-politicisation of the people created apathy towards the suffering of others. In their writings, Kugai, Honda, Wada and Iida emphasised the connections between high-speed economic growth and United States military protection. The goal of economic growth and prosperity was reviving the spectre of the Japanese imperial past in Southeast Asia. At the same time, in the domestic sector the Japanese people were enjoying the benefits of a consumer society which deflected their attention from the actions of the United States in Vietnam and the plight of Southeast Asian students living in Japan. But, as Kitayama noted, the problem of political apathy was far more widespread. The attitude towards politics and politicians among young people was evidence of a lack of any sense of responsibility for Okinawa or for the War in Vietnam. Moreover it was dangerous for the future of Japan. What emerged in the debate and discussion was a questioning of the nature of consumer society and its role in increasing the apathy and de-politicisation of the Japanese people.

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[56] Ibid, p. 160.

Conclusion

'In the winter holiday I went on vacation to stay at my grandfather's house in Nagano. When Kimigayo was played on the television at New Year my grandfather corrected his sitting position and listened intently. When I asked "what's wrong?" he replied "it's the Japanese national anthem, you have to listen to it sitting in the seiza style!" I asked again, "Is Kimigayo like a sutra?"'

From a grade four primary school student in Tokyo.[1]

National Symbols?

On the 4th of January 1964, just before a televised world championship boxing match, the popular Japanese singer Ai George sang the 'national anthem' of Japan, *Kimigayo*, live. The song was not legally recognised as the national anthem and in the run up to the Olympic Games its use sparked a debate in the popular media that raised important historical issues and polarised opinion. The debate also made evident a generational divide centred on issues of war and defeat. In the opening quote, the primary school student's unfamiliarity with the 'national anthem' and the connection to religious observance neatly encapsulated the political nature and historical legacies of political symbols of nation in the postwar period. The report of Ai George's performance in January 1964 raised these deeply political and historical issues within the boundaries of a popular culture that had emerged through the development of a consumer society since the mid-1950s.

According to *Shūkan Heibon*, his performance deeply impressed the entire audience. This performance of the song itself was not broadcast live on television, but according to the magazine it was 'a well-known fact' that in September 1963, at the beginning of a flyweight title match, the soon to be golden disc recipient Sakamoto Kyū did sing *Kimigayo* live on Japanese television. The song was controversial but, as the magazine pointed out, to many young people it was almost unknown. Indeed in the 1950s, with little experience of either the song or the flag, many school children believed both the *Hinomaru* and *Kimigayo* to be the flag and song of the national

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[1] 'Kimigayo to Hinomaru o Anata wa Dō Omou?' *Shūkan Heibon*, January 30th 1964, p. 104.

television broadcaster NHK.[2] Yet at the start of the year of the Tokyo Olympics, Ai George believed that the value of *Kimigayo* was increasing. Indeed, it was for this reason that he sang it. 'On January 4th I had to turn down all other New Year work in order to sing that song. That's how much effort I put into singing it.'[3]

In 1945, at the start of the US Occupation and around the time most of Ai George's fans were born, the issue of the status of the Japanese flag and national anthem was unclear. Because of their relation to the prewar and wartime Emperor System, defeat meant that the symbolic representation of nation that was explicitly connected to the state needed to be re-imagined. Immediately after the surrender, there were reports of American servicemen taking down the flag as they secured the mainland. Unsurprisingly, these reports led many to believe the anthem and the flag would be banned.[4] Nevertheless, rather than enforcing an outright ban on the flying of the *Hinomaru* or the singing of *Kimigayo,* Occupation authorities took a more ambivalent approach to dealing with them. The government section of SCAP, particularly MacArthur, had little problem allowing the flying of the flag or the singing of the anthem on certain occasions. Christian Tagsold has argued that it was the hosting of the Olympic Games in 1964 that provided the opportunity to 'recreate the flag as a symbol of shared beliefs'. In this context, the publically redesigned flag that was unveiled in 1964 'could be seen as a product of democracy and internationalism'.[5] But this democratic effort to redesign the flag, which ultimately only came to adjusting the size of the sun disc and the parameters of the flag itself, was premised on a discourse developed under the US Occupation as the Cold War in East Asia developed.

In his notes on the new Japanese constitution, General Douglas MacArthur had stated his hope that the Japanese flag would symbolise 'the coming of a new era of permanent peace based on individual freedom, dignity, magnanimity, and justice…'[6] Moreover, as former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru recalled, in 1949 SCAP issued a directive that it had no issue with the flying of the flag 'anywhere

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[2] Tanaka Nobumasa, *Hinomaru, Kimigayo no Sengoshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), p. 76.
[3] 'Kimigayo to Hinomaru o Anata wa Dō Omou?', p. 105.
[4] Yoshida, The Yoshida Memoirs*:* 1961, p. 174.
[5] Christian Tagsold, 'The 1964 Tokyo Olympics as Political Games', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 23-3-09, June 8, 2009.
[6] Tanaka, Hinomaru, Kimigayo, p. 11, pp. 7-10.

within the limits of our own territory.'[7] Certainly in his 1949 New Year message to the Japanese people, General MacArthur made clear his permission for all groups in society to use the flag 'without limit'. He also made it clear that the *Hinomaru* would stand for international peace and cooperation.[8] MacArthur's hope was that the flag would serve to integrate Japan into the international system of nation-states. It would be a symbol of the democratic and peace-loving nation created by the reforms of the US Occupation. Yet at the time of MacArthur's speech, the absence of the *Hinomaru* in everyday life was striking.

According to an *Asahi* newspaper survey in 1950, 73% of those surveyed admitted to having a flag at home, but of those only 30% took the flag out on festival days. Nevertheless, the prelude to the article emphasised that the survey was carried out to get to the bottom of the reasons why 'the flag was not seen in the streets on festival days as much as in the old days'. Disillusion with the wartime state and the national symbols which reminded the people of it was not discussed by the article. Indeed, the newspaper claimed that the destruction caused by the heavy bombing of urban areas during the war was one reason for the disappearance of the *Hinomaru*. Not only did many people not possess a flag, they did not even possess a home from which to fly it![9] MacArthur's statement made clear that, after 1945, the symbolic meaning of the Japanese flag would change. Rather than the militaristic Emperor system, the flag would have to represent a new, democratic and peaceful Japan. In the early 1950s, as the newspaper article showed, the flag was not commonly seen. Throughout the 1950s, in order for the new meanings to become convincing for the Japanese people, the flag would need to assume greater prominence in the everyday life of the people.

Around the same time, partly as a result of the resurgence of nationalism with the start of the Korean War and preparations for the Peace Treaty, a debate raged over the status and desirability of the 'national anthem' *Kimigayo*. According to the *Asahi* newspaper, many Japanese believed *Kimigayo* did not 'match the new era' and saw no reason why the song could not be changed. For Shimizu Ikutaro, the song was based on an old way of thinking and was 'out of keeping with the times'.[10] Early in 1951,

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[7] Yoshida, The Yoshida Memoirs, p. 174.
[8] 'Nihon Kokumin Shokun he: Ma Gensui Nentō Mesagi', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 1st 1949.
[9] 'Hinomaru he no Kanshin', *Asahi Shimbun*, February 27th 1950.
[10] 'Ima wa Kono Mama ni Dai Ni Kokka ga Atemo Yoi', *Asahi Shimbun*, Febraury 2nd 1949.

the *Yomiuri* Newspaper asked the question of whether it was necessary to write a new national anthem. Of the readers polled, 364 thought the anthem should be kept, while 290 believed it should be abolished. For those in favour of keeping it, *Kimigayo* was 'already merged into the feelings of daily life' and in the context of 'a democratic Japan under the symbolic Emperor there is no contradiction'. For those on the opposite side of the debate, the anthem was nothing more than 'barefaced praise of feudalism'.[11] Both the anthem and the flag were strongly contested as the Occupation came to an end. It was through raising the profile of both in the everyday life of the Japanese people that the state sought to rehabilitate the symbols.

With the end of the Occupation in 1952, the Japanese government sought to increase the public profile of the flag and the anthem. *Kimigayo* was played at the end of the NHK broadcast of the signing of the San-Francisco Peace Treaty. The flag was shown whilst the anthem played as a set scene in September 1953 with the first television broadcast. Throughout the 1950s, especially with the growth in access to television, people became used to seeing the flag in everyday life.[12] With the awarding of the Olympic Games to Tokyo in 1959, the fact that there was no legal basis for the *Hinomaru* as the Japanese flag, along with the problem of whether *Nihon* or *Nippon* was the correct way of referring to the host country, brought the question of the national anthem to the fore in the popular media. Within the political world, the question of whether to give a legal basis to the *Hinomaru* and *Kimigayo* was 'gaining strength'. Moreover, 80% of respondents to one survey claimed to like the song.[13] Ai George was certainly correct in thinking that public feeling towards the national symbols was changing.

By 1964, the performance of *Kimigayo* was becoming increasingly prevalent in public places. *Shūkan Heibon* recounted the opening ceremony of the Nissei Theatre. The Berlin Opera was in Japan to perform at the opening and before the curtain rose the 'national anthems' of West Germany and Japan were performed. Similarly, when the Polish circus visited Tokyo in the same year, *Kimigayo* was performed before the show began. Ikejima Shimpei, Editor-in-Chief of monthly magazine *Bungei Shunjun* and of the generation raised before the war, listened to the performance of the song at the Nissei Theatre with what he described as a 'large wave

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[11] 'Shin Kokka Tsukurubeki ka', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 23rd 1951.
[12] Tanaka, Kimigayo to Hinomaru, pp. 63-92.
[13] 'Mina de Kangaeyō: Kimigayo', *Asahi Shimbun*, 14th June 1964.

of emotion'. The performance reaffirmed, for him, 'the excellence of *Kimigayo*'. But thirty-five year-old Nitta Akio, who came of age during the Occupation period, witnessed the performance at the Polish circus. He described it as a strange feeling and was unsure how to respond. An 'uncomfortable, complicated feeling, should I stand or sit down, I was lost in some feelings of opposition'.[14] According to the magazine, Nitta's opposition was understandable. He was of the generation that had grown up during the war. Having come of age during the Occupation period the conflicting nature of prewar and postwar state symbols clearly rendered the anthem ambiguous.

For fans of Sumo wrestling, usually of an older generation, the singing of the national anthem was not at all unusual. Starting with the summer *Bashō* of 1952, *Kimigayo* was performed at the closing of the tournament.[15] According to Sumo fan and shop owner Tanaka Eizō, who never missed a *Bashō* and always watched the final day: 'when I am there singing *Kimigayo* I strongly feel that I am Japanese (*Nihonjin*). There really is no other chance to feel this way. That's the reason I always attend the final day of a tournament. The feeling you get is great'.[16] On the other hand, the article pointed out that there was no shortage of people who watched the last day of a tournament on TV and who turned off the TV set when *Kimigayo* began. According to one 36-year-old teacher, 'the idea of a national anthem should be more big-hearted, more optimistic and rhythmical in my opinion. Also *Kimigayo* brings with it all kinds of unpleasant memories of the war'.[17] So while the national anthem was gradually being heard in more and more public places across Japan in 1964, and popular culture was helping to re-incorporate the flag and the anthem into everyday life, the reaction and feelings of the people were still very mixed.

While acknowledging that in America it was usual to see the Stars and Stripes in school classrooms, the Liberal Democratic Party's Hasegawa Takashi noted it would never be seen in a Japanese classroom in the postwar period. Indeed, despite the efforts of the Ministry of Education, which had attempted in 1958 to incorporate the flag and anthem into compulsory education, many children did not even know that the *Hinomaru* was the national flag of Japan. The Olympic Games offered the chance

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[14] 'Kimigayo to Hinomaru o Anata wa Dō Omou?' p. 107.
[15] Tanaka, Kimigayo to Hinomaru, p. 75.
[16] 'Kimigayo to Hinomaru o Anata wa Dō Omou?' p. 107.
[17] Ibid.

to embed these national symbols in the consciousness of the Japanese people and media debate and discussion aided this.[18] Yet Yasukawa Yoshitsugu, who was due to attend the coming of age ceremony at the beginning of 1964 and so was born at the end of the war, saw the flag as an ominous sign. 'When the *Hinomaru* is flying in the ceremony hall I can't meekly accept that. I have no particular memories of the war period, but behind that *Hinomaru* I feel the dark hand of the re-emergence of Japanese militarism'. On the other hand Hata Hiroyasu, who worked in a Chinese restaurant and would attend the same ceremony as Yasukawa, claimed 'I like the *Hinomaru*. I think it's a great flag. It is only natural that it would be flying in the ceremony hall'. Divided opinions on the flag and the anthem did not just separate the generations. The political nature of these symbolic representations of the nation also divided the postwar generation.

Nevertheless, according to *Shūkan Heibon,* Yasukawa was in the minority of young people, and most accepted the flag and the anthem. The memories of war needed to be forgotten, and according to one interviewee, 'to reject your national flag and national anthem is stupid'. Japanese people needed to respect Japan in the opinion of Ikejima, part of the pre-war generation. 'If Japanese people (*Nihonjin*) don't respect Japan (*Nihon*), how can we get foreigners to respect Japan?'[19] For the politician Hasegawa, the Tokyo Olympics provided the opportunity to make the '*kokumin* love the *Hinomaru*'. 'Young people are gathering from all over the world, different races, overcoming discrimination between different countries deliberately fighting for people's hearts, the flag can do this'. In line with the ideological goals of the Olympic movement Hasegawa saw the flag as a symbol of 'fair play, freshness, and health'. 1964 was a great chance 'to reverse the dark wartime image. It is with this meaning that I want to see many *Hinomaru* flying at the Olympics'.[20] The issue of the flag and the singing of *Kimigayo* were tied to feelings of pride in the country. The Olympic Games was an event that provided the perfect opportunity to begin to re-integrate these divisive symbols into everyday life. In view of the ideological premise of the Olympic movement it was also the perfect opportunity to reinforce the *Hinomaru* as symbolic of international peace and democratic development. As discussed in chapter four, at a time when the country would be on display to the

[18] Tagsold, 'The 1964 Tokyo Olympics'.
[19] 'Kimigayo to Hinomaru o Anata wa Dō Omou?' pp. 106-107.
[20] Ibid.

world, Ikejima's question about respect for Japan was more than merely rhetorical. Certainly the official image of Japan portrayed at the Tokyo Olympics was no longer the enemy of a long and brutal war but rather 'a peaceful internationalist'.[21] But even in 1964, the rehabilitation of these divisive national symbols had as much to do with popular consumer culture as political posturing.

'Seeing the *Hinomaru* I feel excitement!' claimed a headline in *Heibon Punch* in the summer of 1971. Posing the question 'What do you think of the *Hinomaru*?' the article reported on the feelings of young people towards the Japanese flag. Seven years after the Tokyo Olympics, the magazine's survey asked five hundred male and female high school students about their feelings towards the national flag. According to the results, 'tying it to past links with the war and screwing up your face to it' was apparently old-fashioned. 70% of the students claimed to 'love the *Hinomaru*', while only 20% reported that they did not like it.[22] Regarding the flag's design, when asked what they most associated with it the favourite responses were 'cool', 'passionate', 'symbolic' or 'plain', but only 20% described it as 'worthless'. The article expressed surprise that for a generation who had not known the war at all, high school students were surprisingly aware of the flag.

When they were asked about what they associated the *Hinomaru* with, the men and women differed. For both sexes, the number one response was not too surprisingly 'the country's flag', and for men, militarism came second. Third place was taken up by '*bentō'*, fourth right wing movements, and fifth place was given to the Emperor. The magazine concluded nonetheless that, among men, 'apart from the innocent desire to eat a *hinomaru bentō*' and even though these high school students 'didn't directly have experience of the war', there was still a strong anti-authority, anti-dictatorship consciousness. Next to this, the women were 'righteously peaceful' in the magazine's opinion, associating the *Hinomaru* secondly with 'the song', third with festivals and a feeling of being on holiday. Perhaps surprisingly, according to the magazine, in fourth place women associated the flag with war but, 'hopefully unrelated, in fifth place they claimed a feeling of excitement'. Other answers given by the students ranged from pickled plums (*umeboshi*), fried eggs (*medamayaki*), getting

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[21] Paul Droubie, 'Phoenix Arisen: Japan as Peaceful Internationalist at the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, No. 16, November 2011, p. 309.
[22] 'Hinomaru o Miru to Kōfun Shichau', *Heibon Punch*, June 21st 1971, p. 38.

on a ship, *momotarō*, *tokkōtai*, as well as what the magazine described as 'other strange answers'. One student complained that 'for our generation to associate it with militarism and war is sad. But *bentō* and festivals is also deplorable! Why is it not peace or the Yamato spirit which comes out?' The magazine declared, 'depending on how you look at it, it could be said that among high school students a new kind of nationalism (*minzokushugi*)' was being nurtured.[23]

The new kind of nationalism that was becoming apparent by the end of the 1960s was intimately tied up with the growth of a consumer society in Japan since the mid-1950s. This took place in a specific historical context that tied representations of nation not only to the country's wartime past but also to the future. In the context of state policies for creating rapid economic growth, the forward-looking nature of ideas of nation did not entail a subduing of cultural representations of nation. Rather, as consumer society developed and became increasingly associated with the everyday lives of the Japanese people, the nation itself became a commodity given shape by the mass media.[24] As this thesis has argued, both democracy and consumption were in the process of becoming 'Japanese' as the transwar period gave way to the postwar. Yet this worked both ways. It transformed ideas of nation.

In the early 1950s intellectuals, journalists, and commentators grappled with the problem that nationalism and internationalism were indistinguishable. The country began to experience economic growth thanks to the boom provided by the Korean War, and with the end of the Occupation ideas of nation became a major focal point for subjective and collective identification. Yet attempts to link ideas of nation to peace and democracy, subjectivity and universalism were a reflection of the international Cold War, the desire to exorcise the wartime state, and the reforms of the Occupation. In this context, building a future Japanese nationalism around the goals of peace and democracy was unavoidably shaped by the objective historical circumstances within which the Occupation came to an end. The ambiguity of terms such as *kokumin*, *minzoku*, *kokkashugi*, *aikokushugi* plagued the theoretical discussion of nation. Far from deciding which term to use depending on a certain conception of

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[23] Ibid.
[24] This thesis has restricted itself to a discussion of the printed media but as has been noted the development of television and its widespread dissemination in the same period had a similar effect on ideas of nation. As well as Chun, A nation of a Hundred Million, see Inose Naoki, *Yokubō no media* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990).

what the nation was, during the 1950s the inability of many thinkers to define the nation shows that the changing nature of the economic, political and social left ambiguity as the best, if not the only option. Ultimately, this preoccupation with the wartime experience and Cold War power politics diverted attention from the emergence of new lifestyles and new forms of popular culture that were used to create representations of nation in the popular media.

Through contestation over the place of rice in the Japanese diet and a Cold War connection between nutrition and individual wellbeing, economic and political concerns were represented in the early 1950s in the housewife magazines and newspaper discussions as questions of 'national culture'. In this way a nutritionally poor diet was not simply due to government policy and the Korean War. It also raised questions about the place of rice as a 'traditional food' in the Japanese diet. Through media representation, economic and political problems of the period around the end of the Occupation could be deflected onto the issue of culture and representations of ideas of nation. Ultimately the Cold War political context of the early 1950s was disavowed and transposed onto questions of national identity.

Throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, media representation of ideas of nation shifted the emphasis on 'peace and democracy' to notions of 'peace and prosperity'. This process was accelerated by the shift in the mid-1950s from a production-led economy to one fueled by consumption. Socially, politically and economically new patterns emerged which altered the everyday lives of the Japanese people. While these conditions were not unique to Japan, they helped Japanese people to integrate cultural ideas of nation into an apparently de-politicised popular culture. Just as the political economy of food had been projected onto Japanese foodways, consumer culture de-politicised the Cold War context of Japan's economic growth. As with other countries of the Free World, Japan emerged economically and politically within a universal vision of modernity closely tied to American hegemony. In Japan, within the context of the Cold War in Asia, the contradictions of this position became clear in the debates and discussions within the popular media. Yet as the media not only advertised but also discussed and promoted new ways of living, the political nature of these contradictions was defused.

By the early 1960s, the apparent thaw in the Cold War marked by the Soviet leader's visit to the US in late 1959 seemed to make the renewal of the Security Treaty redundant. The ANPO issue became tied to the protection of postwar

democracy, but although the treaty symbolised a subordinate client-state relationship between Japan and the United States, the increasing prospects brought by economic growth allowed debate and discussion to press ideas of nation which appeared to relate more concretely to the everyday lives of the people. In this way, the public celebration of consumerism in the popular media helped deflect attention from the political to the realm of everyday lived experience. The media helped to separate the Japanese state and its relationship to the United States from an image of 'America' which offered consumer lifestyles and leisure time to the Japanese people. The idea of the 'consumer as king' reflected the political imperatives of the Cold War, yet through the popular media these were deflected onto the opportunities and possibilities of a rapidly growing economy. This was especially important for a magazine like *Shūkan Heibon* which was targeted at young working people living away from home and with some, if only a little, money to spend.

The hosting of the Olympic Games in 1964 brought the world to Japan and focused the media debate and discussion on the global nature of the transformations of the everyday lives of the Japanese people. This brought to the fore international comparisons, which helped to connect media representations of nation to a wider debate over the nature of consumer society in Japan. The necessity for a 'Japanese' consumerism became clear. The young factory worker, the reader of *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*, saw his or her wages increase, and found in consumer society the cultural capital necessary for a stake in that society. Yet as the economy continued to grow rapidly and society became more and more structured, the contradictions of the country's position became more and more evident. As the Vietnam War gathered in intensity, the postwar ideals of peace and democracy lost their potency. The irony of the country's situation became clear. While the student and anti-war protests became more and more visible on the streets, the popular media juxtaposed the serious nature of the issues facing the country with the ephemeral and detached nature of popular consumer culture. In the magazines of the 1960s, the constraining pattern, inseparable from the very nature of the medium, of what Baudrillard has described as the 'disarticulation of the real into successive equivalent signs', in Japan allowed for the 'miraculous transition from Vietnam to variety, on the basis of a total abstraction of

both'.[25] The representation of nation in the 1950s and 1960s took place within this growth of popular mass circulation magazines. It was both constrained by and created through this connection of consumer culture with national development.

It is in this context that we have to understand the emergence of a cultural nationalism in the early 1970s. The *Nihonjinron* (theories of Japaneseness) were not simply expressions of economic power and a search for meaning in the light of rapid economic development. Nor were they just a response to the Nixon shocks and the oil crisis of the early 1970s. The shift lay not in the bankruptcy of developmentalist ideas of nation stemming from economic crisis, but in the very nature of consumer society itself. From the mid-1950s, everyday life became tied up with consumer culture. This connection was political and ideological. It served to tie Japan into the global Cold War on the side of the free world. At the same time, it turned culture itself into a commodity. With the literal disappearance of the folkways of Yanagita Kunio and the 'disneyfication' of the imperial house, a detached, apathetic and ironic stance to ideas of nation allowed a new kind of nationalism to emerge.

As Jean Baudrillard argued in 1970, advertising 'turns the object into an event. In fact, it constructs it as such by eliminating its objective characteristics. It constructs it as a model, a spectacular news item'.[26] The popular media in the postwar period constructed the Japanese 'nation' as an event, but not only through the growing prevalence of advertising. The ANPO protests, the coming of the Tokyo Olympics, the student movement and the Vietnam War were discussed and debated as 'spectacular news items'. The popular mass media then served to disavow the objective characteristics of Japan's postwar development by juxtaposing these issues with popular culture. If, as Benedict Anderson argues, ideas of nation are imagined through the emergence of the print media then they are sustained, altered and contested by the development of that medium as it becomes a commodity. In this way, taking Marshall Mcluhan's point that 'the medium is the message' helps to contextualise the growth of *Nihonjinron* as a 'genre' in the 1970s.[27] The discourse

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[25] Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage, 2003), p. 122.
[26] Ibid. p. 126.
[27] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge M.A, MIT Press, 1994). See Yoshino Kosaku, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan* (London: Routledge, 1992) for an examination of the writers and consumers of this discourse. Also see Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (Routledge: London, 1986) for a refutation of the arguments.

became popular among certain sectors of the population and strongly emphasised homogeneity and uniqueness. Yet its appeal lay in large part in the fact that Japan appeared to be neither homogeneous nor unique in the late 1960s. Its development was one aspect of a global paradigm.

Marilyn Ivy has traced the way in which, during the 1970s, 'a high-level advertising executive, a powerful culture broker and image purveyor who scans the fringes of Japan's youth culture' could head up a team of advertising executives within Dentsu, the country's largest advertising company and create the 'Discover Japan' campaign to lead people to 'national-cultural and subjective discovery'.[28] That this advertising campaign was so successful speaks to the fundamental basis of the representation of ideas of nation in postwar Japan. Yet in thinking about the development of ideas of nation and nationalism in the postwar period we need to take into account that the unconscious 'flagging' of the nation takes place at the level of popular culture. Examination of the growth of the popular media in the context of the emergence of consumer society shows that this 'flagging' does not only happen through advertisements but also in the debate and discussion of real events. This helps to draw out the ways in which the ideas of nation framed by that media make possible the detachment of political and cultural ideas of nation from the political economy in which they emerge, thus making possible the separation of the civic and the ethnic in the theoretical debate over nation and nationalism more broadly.

[28] Ivy, Discourses of the Vanishing, pp. 35-36.

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Fujin Kōron　婦人公論

Heibon Punch　平凡パンチ

Mainichi Graph　毎日グラフ

Sekai　世界

Shisō　思想

Shūkan Heibon　週刊平凡

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